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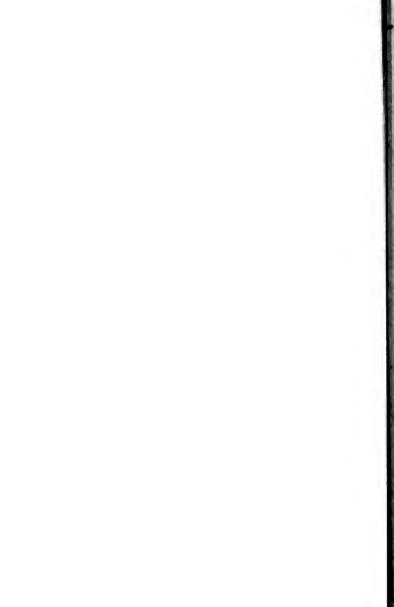
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT LOS ANGELES











THE EDGEWORTHS

A STUDY OF LATER EIGHTEENTH CENTURY EDUCATION

BY

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PREFACE.

The study on which this little book is based was begun by the author some half-dozen years ago, when preparing students for an examination on English educators of the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. At first the fact that very little or nothing was found to be written on the subject seemed to suggest that the period itself was barren of educational ideas and effort. But closer scrutiny soon forced one to the conclusion that the almost complete neglect of the period in records of educational history was rather to be accounted for by the fact of its comparative nearness to our own day; and indeed only now that the first decade of the twentieth century is over, and the second well on its way, is it possible, in looking back, to see it in proper perspective.

The Edgeworths have been chosen as fitting representatives of this period—a period which intervened between the passing away of the stagnation in educational matters that had lasted almost throughout the whole course of the eighteenth century, and the breaking of the first wave of Pestalozzian influence upon our shores in the second decade of the nineteenth. It is not difficult to justify the choice: Mr. Edgeworth's book, Essays on Practical Education, was the most important work on general pedagogy to appear in this country between the publication of Locke's Thoughts in 1693 and that of Herbert Spencer's

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Essay on Education in 1861, and it seems to have enjoyed, throughout the nineteenth century, a popularity almost as lasting as that of Miss Edgeworth's Tales themselves.

But the chief claim of the Edgeworths to special consideration rests upon the fact that, while keeping in touch with all the educational in wemen's of their day. they identified themselves particularly with those which best exemplify the rise of the modern spirit - the attempt to base educational theory and practice on experiment. the demand for better popular education, the introduction of elementary science into the curriculum of the school; the advocacy of a modern as opposed to a classical education for boys not intended for the learned professions; the movement in favour of the higher education of women. In view of this fact it is hoped, by means of a survey of every department of their educational activity and interest, to illustrate the extent to which nineteenth century reform movements were already making themselves felt in the eighteenth century, and so to help to a better understanding of the movements themselves. We have in the past been too apt to consider Pestalozzi as the source of all recent educational reform, forgetting that the impulse to reform had come first from within, and that if indeed the play of outside influences can be detected at all during this period, it was rather the leaven of Rousseau which was working in England, and this at a time long before the fame of the Swiss educationist had passed beyond his native Zürich.

True it can hardly be claimed that the Edgeworths were more than distinguished amateurs in the art of education: but they belonged to an age of educational amateurs, of whom the greatest was Rousseau himself.

In an analysis of the pedagogy of the Edgeworths, the temptation to lay too great stress upon its sources has had to be resisted. Undoubtedly these writers are eminent in English educational history as channels of French influence, at a time when German influences in education had not begun to be felt; but to do more than touch upon the question of influences other than those of Locke and Rousseau would be to destroy the proportion of this little book. The aim has therefore been to exhibit the pedagogy of the Edgeworths as far as possible in its English setting, and in addition, by using all the material available from their books and not merely the Practical Education, to present it in a form more complete, so far as the author knows, than has yet been attempted.

In addition to serving its main purpose—that of doing justice to a neglected period of educational history—it is hoped that this book may awaken in those, whose chief interest was in the Edgeworths themselves, a further interest in educational ideas, and so be a means of introducing the parent and the lay reader to the study of educational principles.

In conclusion I wish to thank my friend, Miss S. E. Gadsby, for kindly reading the book in MS, and making some useful suggestions.

ALICE PATERSON.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF NORTH WALES, BANGOR, March 1914.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTORY.

Signs of Advance in later Eight-centh, Century, Education

The Rise of a Literature for Children Growing Mass of Pedago_ical Literature Education—an Experimental Succession.

PREFACE .

Influence of Revolutionary Doctrones on Education	
Other Influences .	۲,
CHAPTER L	
LIFE OF THE EDGEWOLTHS	
R. L. Edgeworth - Early Life in Ireland	,
Education.	14
Day and the Emile	11
Maria Edgeworth - Education .	11
Life at Edgeworthstown	13
The "Household System" of Education .	1.4
Essays on Practical Education	15
Mr. Edgeworth and Elementary Education	
Miss Edgeworth at Yverdun	17
	4
CHAPTER II.	
EDUCATION AL INFERENCES	
An English Emile	201
Failure of the Experiment	
The Influence of Rousseau	
The Influence of Locke	20
Var	-24
VIII	

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

CHAPTER III.

Practical Educat	HON: I	rs Chai	RACTI	ERIST	⊬ F£	ATUR	ES.	PAGE
Practical Education-ha-	ed on	Experin	ient					27
Private Education Defen								29
Attractive Methods of T								30
Incidental Instruction								31
Supposed Neglect of Rel	igious '	Praining	<u>.</u>					33
	CHAI	PTER	IV.					
"Essays on Practic	al Epr	CATION.	··· 1	EA	ar F	inte	TIO	١.
General Plan of the Essi	14.							35
Exercise of Limbs and S								
Rational Toys .								37
Education in Play								40
"Essays on Pract	ical E	PTER bleation ndefist	·S."		Fire I	Евсс	AT10	×
·								
A. The Training of the								42 41
Attention								44
Abstraction								45
Taste and Imagination	•							46
Resemble and Indones								47
Taste and Imagination Reasoning and Judgmen B. Curriculum and Met	hod-							49
Reading and Writing				,				49
Grammar								51
Arithmetic								52
Geometry								53
Elementary Science .								
Geography and Chronol								55 56
Literature				٠				57
The Objects of Rational	Instru	etion				•	•	31

CHAPTER VI

Eighteenth Century Discipline 60 "Hardening". 62 Suspicion of Dolls and of the Fairystal 63 The Live and Learn Principle 65 Rewards and Punishments 67 The Acquisition of Moral Habits 69 The Social Virtues 70 Charge of Utilitarianism 71 Direct Moral Instruction 73
"Hardening". 62 Suspicion of Dolls and of the Fairystale 63 The Live and Learn Principle 65 Rewards and Punishments 67 The Acquisition of Moral Habits 69 The Social Virtues 70 Charge of Utilitarianism 71 Direct Moral Instruction 73
Suspicion of Dolls and of the Fairystals The Live and Learn Principle Rewards and Punishments The Acquisition of Moral Habits The Social Virtues Charge of Utilitarianism Direct Moral Instruction 53
The Live and Learn Principle 65 Rewards and Punishments 67 The Acquisition of Moral Habits 69 The Social Virtues 70 Charge of Utilitarianism 71 Direct Moral Instruction 73
Rewards and Punishments 67 The Acquisition of Moral Habets 69 The Social Virtues 70 Charge of Utilitarianism 71 Direct Moral Instruction 73
Rewards and Punishments
The Social Virtues . 70 Charge of Utilitarianism 71 Direct Moral Instruction 73
Charge of Utilitarianism 71 Direct Moral Instruction 73
Direct Moral Instruction 73
CHAPALE ATI
(11 A P3 I- P - A - I I
· 11 31 11.17 - > 11
THE Mount Land
Origin and Characteristics of the Model, T. 76
Moral Tales of the Period
Characteristics of Miss Edgeworth's Tab. 79
Their Moral Tendency
Their Charm for Children
The Tales as Illustrating $P(x) = e(E^T - x)$. Do tunes 84
CHAPTER VIII.
"LETTERS FOR LITERARY LADGES". THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN.
Origin of the Book
The Education of Women in the Eighteenth Century . 89
Views of Knox, Gregory, etc., on the Education of Women 91
Maria Edgeworth's Literary Ladies 93
Condemnation of Fashionable Accomplishments 96
Defence of the Governess
The Education of a Girl .

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

CHAPTER IX.

" Professional Education."

Scope of the Book					103	
What is Genius?					1014	
The Education of the Clergyman.					107	
Of the Naval and Military Man					107	
Of the Physician					108	
Criticism of the Book						
CONCLUSION.						
Spread of Practical Education Doctrines					111	
Pestalozzian Influences					113	
Визлоскатич .					115	
INDEX					118	

INTRODUCTORY.

Signs of Advance in later Eighteenth Century Education.

THE present day is, we are told, one of the "great maximal periods in the evolution of educational theory"1 -one might add, and of educational practice, but that the one is so far correlative to the other. The rise of the curve has, however, been very gradual, and it is to the last decades of the eighteenth century that we must look for its beginnings. These years had, in contrast to the period of apathy immediately preceding, shown signs of life and movement. They produced, it is true, in England at least, no writer of originality, no book which has stood the test of time, yet in certain significant features can be discerned signs of awakening and of preparation for the educational revival of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.2 In particular is to be noted a growing interest in education, and in the child to be educated. For while it is a commonplace to express the all but universal interest taken in child life at the present day by calling this "the century of the child," the eighteenth century as a whole might well have been named the century of the adult. Yet in the period of which we speak the child was already

¹ Adams, The Evolution of Educational Theory, p. 99.

² This is true of all grades of education. We deal here, however, only with the education of the leisured classes.

beginning to acquire importance in the eves of his seniors, and to be considered worthy of study by others than the professional educationist. It is not implied that a better understanding of his nature as a developing human being was immediately reached, or that more sympathetic treatment was generally accorded him. On the contrary the exaggerated solemnity with which his failings were regarded, the huge efforts made to induce him to take himself seriously, the zeal with which the more heroic virtues were enjoined on him, serve only to provoke a smile in the modern reader. Youth was still too often conceived of "as a kind of mental and moral disease," rendering its victims "unfit occupants of a civilised home." But the hope of future progress lay in the fact that, at least in isolated instances, study of the educative process tended to become subordinate to study of the child.

The Rise of a Literature for Children.

This growing interest in and care for children in the later eighteenth century may be illustrated in several ways. Chronologically, the first indication of it was the rise of a distinct literature for children. Doubtless John Newbery's enterprise, begun somewhere about 1750, of publishing books written specially for children, was something in the nature of an experiment. Yet its almost immediate success was sufficient evidence of a want realised only after measures had been taken to supply it. There was room for simple stories of the *Tommy Trip* and *Little Goody Two Shoes* type,—for a childish literature which should be both wholesome and entertaining, and such a

¹ Pasion, Side Lights on the Georgian Period, p. 80.

² John Newbery's example was followed by others, amongst whom William Godwin should be mentioned.

literature had to be created before it could be published. That Newbery had a quick eve for suitable material, and could himself tell a story with kindly sympathy for young readers, must have gone far towards giving his venture a good start. That he secured the services of a man of genius, Oliver Goldsmith, as author of some of his tales did much to keep it affoat. But the crying need of books to replace the current juvenile literature with its excessively Puritanical tendency must have made success assured from the first. And other writers were found willing to disregard the opprobrium then attaching to authors of children's books. Some of them, like Miss Edgeworth, the poet Blake, and Charles Lamb, were distinguished in other spheres of literature; the fame of others was confined to the precincts of the nursery and schoolroom-Mrs. Barbauld, Mrs. Sherwood, Mrs. Trimmer, Mrs. Pilkington, Dorothy Kilner, Jane and Ann Taylor.

With this lighter and more imaginative literature there sprang up a fresh crop of school-books,—primers, spelling books, books of information on every conceivable topic, in that small compass which in itself was thought to proclaim suitability for the very young, including the Abridgements, Beauties, and Compendiums which Hannah More condemned. It is a question whether they were really in advance of the school-books of an earlier date, yet the fact that they were manifestly intended to be more pleasing, and to involve less drudgery on the part of the learner, is symptomatic of the times.

¹ Goldsmith was probably author of Goody Two Shoes itself, and of A Pretty Book of Pictures for Little Masters and Misses, or Tommy Trip's History of Beasts and Birds. To which is prefixed The History of Little Tom Trip himself, of his Dog Jouler and of Woglog the Great Giant. 1767. (Field, The Child and His Book, p. 275.)

Growing Mass of Pedagogical Literature.

Side by side with the new books for children appeared a growing mass of pedagogical literature, which, though it pessesses little but historical interest at the present day, evidences an extension of the sphere of educational interest which links the period with that which immediately succeeded it. As in the earlier part of the century, most literary men expressed their views on education at one time or another-men like Goldsmith, Godwin, Priestley, Dugald Stewart, Erasmus Darwin, Only ore book the name of which is still remembered was by a professional educator- the Essay on a Liberal Education. by Vicesimus Knox. But the feeling which is so characteristic of our own day seems already to have begun to assert itself, viz., that parenthood in itself confers the right to an opinion on educational matters and to the expression of that opinion. Hence an increase in books of the type of Dr. Gregory's Father's Legacy to his Daughters and Mrs. Pennington's Mother's Advice to her Absent Daughters. And the fact that the educational horizon was widening was not lost upon the writers themselves. though to us, with our unwieldy mass of educational literature, their complaints that there are few subjects more backneyed than education, and their apologies for adding one pedagogical treatise the more to the already overlarge stock, seem superfluous.

Education—an Experimental Science.

An even more evident indication of the changing attitude towards education was the effort to make of it "an experimental science,"—a phrase which, as used in those days, may be paraphrased as, to found educational theory and practice on observation of the child. Thus William

Godwin defines the method he has adopted in the Enquirer, published in 1797, as "an incessant recurrence to experiment and actual observation." A necessary concomitant, therefore, to the pursuit of educational truth became the keeping of records of individual children, a practice which seems to have existed less markedly in England than on the Continent. What the Philanthropinists had begun in obedience to Rousseau's admonition to make a closer study of the child was only carried out systematically many years later by Sigismund, Prever, and Darwin. Yet a beginning hal been made even in England before the eighteenth century had run to its close. It is true that the record kept by Mr. Edgeworth of conversations with his children was anything but a scientific document. There was little or no attempt made to systematise the facts deduced, or to find a psychological justification for them. Yet though his educational practice at least was constantly checked and guided by the data thus procured, the chief value of the records lay rather in the attitude of mind which they indicated on the part of the writer, and which they helped to foster in his imitators,-that of regarding observation of the child as the indispensable preliminary to the laving down of educational theory.

Influence of Revolutionary Doctrines on Education.

These signs of increased vitality in the educational organism are evident enough: the precise causes producing it are less obvious, and can only be touched upon here. It was doubtless a by-product of conditions and movements in the life and thought of the nation quite

¹ It is claimed that Tiedemann, a Professor of Philosophy at Marburg, was the first to publish such a record in 1787.

other than educational. The growth and expansion of thought concurrent with strides male in scientific discovery had resulted in an intense belief in the possibilities of human nature. "The ideas of progress and human perfectibility" were ruling passions of the time; they constituted two of the elements in that "mist" of Revolutionary thought which overhung England before the Revolution. "Man is not a perfect creature, but surely he is perfectible; and the motive power in his endless advance can be no other than the human reason." With this went a zeal for "simplification," for "disentanglement of life," and that in every department of its activity.

Such beliefs as these were bound to find their outlet in educational channels—"An age touched by the spirit of hope inevitably turns to the young; for with the young lies fulfilment." And this happened with all the greater certainty upon their finding expression in the works of Rousseau, a man who was at once educationist and social reformer. The enthusiasm awakened in England by the publication of the *Emile*, evanescent though it was in any extreme form, can be best explained on the assumption that the book brought nothing essentially new, but merely embodied and interpreted in arresting form the most progressive views on education of the time.

Other Influences.

In more conservative quarters other influences must have told. The religious revivals, though in themselves hardly favourable to width of culture, were bound to react upon and to colour the educational ideal, and indirectly to foster education. So too the wave of moral fervour which

¹ Dowden, The French Revolution and English Literature, pp. 5 and 13.

² Morley, Rousseau, Vol. I., p. 5. - * Ibid., Vol. II., p. 198.

passed over the country towards the close of the century, while it swept away many of the more pressing of social evils, must have given an impetus in the direction of educational revival. It accounted in part at least for the continuation of that moralising tendency which is so marked a feature of the rationalistic eighteenth century, and which has become familiar to us educationally through the children's books of that period and after.

It is, then, to this transition period between the old and the new that our attention is directed in the following sketch, taking as representative of it two writers, who attract us not so much by the originality of their views, as by the faithfulness with which they reflect the best features of the educational thought of their time—Richard Lovell Edgeworth and his daughter Maria.

Yet it is not solely as representative of the eighteenth century that they appear worthy of study. If it be true, as has been claimed and as there seems reason to believe, that "quite two generations of English men and women were instilled into Edgeworthian doctrines," consideration of these will shed light on education in the nineteenth century no less than on that of its immediate predecessor.

¹ Helen Zimmern, Life of Maria Edgeworth, p. 39.

CHAPTER I.

LIFE OF THE EDGEWORTHS.

R. L. Edgeworth - Early Life in Ireland.

Born at Bath in 1744, Richard Lovell Edgeworth passed his childhood on his father's estate at Edgeworthstown, County Longford, where his family had been landowners since 1583.

His early education was undertaken by his mother, who, like her more famous grand-laughter, was accounted a learned woman, and that "at a time when Stella and Mrs. Delaney were looked up to as persons of a different class from the ladies who were commonly to be met with in the best circles in Ireland." Failure of health necessitating a quiet life, she devoted herself to the education of her family, and, while studying all available educational literature, founded her own methods on the theories of Locke.

¹ The Memoirs, Vol. 1., p. 106. It is not intended to give a detailed account of the life of the Edgeworths. Only those facts are mentioned which are of educational interest. The facts themselves are taken chiefly from The Memoirs of R. L. Edgeworth, begun by himself, and cowladed by his daughter, Maria Edgeworth, with occasional reference to the Biography by Helen Zimmern and the volume on Miss Edgeworth in the "English Men of Letters" Series, by the Hon. Emily Lawless. In addition, use has been made of Constance Hill's Maria Edgeworth and her Circle in the Days of Buonaparte and Bourbon.

In particular she believed in treating her children, even at a tender age, as "reasonable beings," a view which we find re-echoed in her son's educational writings. She is very evidently the prototype of the mother in the Early Lessons.

Education.

Of his education in the narrower sense of the word Mr. Edgeworth has little to tell. His earliest reading-books after the horn-book were the Old Testament and Aesop's Fables. At a later age passages from Shakespeare's plays were read aloud to him by his mother, Coriolanus and Julius Caesar, her own favourite characters, being held up in particular for his admiration. Counting he picked up during his parents' games at cribbage. The taste for mechanics, which became the strongest of his life, was early infused under the following circumstances. Electrical treatment was being applied to alleviate Mrs. Edgeworth's disease. On one occasion the expected shock was not produced, and for no apparent reason. Young Edgeworth, who happened to be present, had noticed that the electric wire was touching the hinge of the table on which the instrument rested: he mentioned the circumstance as possibly accounting for the loss of power, and his observation proved to be correct. This incident, trivial in itself. seemed to confirm the conclusion reached by him in later life, that what is usually termed genius is due entirely to the accidental awakening of interest in some subject with which pleasure or pain is strongly associated.

Much thought and care were given to moral training. Punishment was seldom resorted to, appeal being rather made to the sense and good feeling of the child. Mrs. Edgeworth's method of dealing with her son on one

occasion, when in a fit of passion he had thrown a red-hot flat-iron at his brother, happily without harmful consequences, is typical of such rational treatment. After expostulating with him on the violence of his temper, she finished, "You are but a very young child, yet I think you can understand me. Instead of speaking to you as I do at this moment, I might punish you severely, but I think it better to treat you like a reasonable creature. My wish is to teach you to command your temper; nobody can do it for you so well as you can do it for yourself."

Less admirable from a present-day standpoint were the moral object-lessons founded on incidents chosen from the lives of acquaintances.—"She began to point out to me," Mr. Edgeworth writes of his mother, "the good or bad qualities of the persons whom we accidentally saw, or with whom we were connected."

Following upon this early home training up to the age of eight, came education at a variety of schools, preceded by a few months initiation into the mysteries of Lilly's Grammar at the hands of the Rev. Patrick Hughes, who but a few years before had tutored Oliver Goldsmith. His experiences at school at Warwick, where Mr. Edgeworth tells us he was an object of contempt because of his Irish accent and idiom, and at Drogheda where his English was equally matter of ridicule, led him later to attach much importance to accurate pronunciation in the education of the young. From his last school at Longford, Richard Edgeworth went, when about seventeen, for a short period to Trinity College, Dublin, then to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and while still at college married, as it turned out, unhappily.

¹ With a Miss Elers, mother of Richard, born in 1764; Maria, born in 1767; and of three other children. She died in 1773. Mr. Edgeworth married four times.

The years after leaving the University were spent mostly in England,—in studying law, in scientific reading and above all in mechanical invention. It was through one of these inventions that he made the acquaintance of Dr. Erasmus Darwin, and was by him introduced to his circle of friends at Lichfield.¹

Day and the "Emile."

About the same time was begun an equally intimate and lasting friendship, and one of more important consequences educationally—that with Thomas Day, the most pronounced Rousseauist of his time. At no period of his life does Mr. Edgeworth seem to have been so enamoured of the *Emile* as was his friend, who wrote to him in 1769:—"Were all the books in the world to be destroyed... the second book I should wish to save after the Bible would be Rousseau's *Emilius*." Yet his admiration was sufficiently great to allow of his making experiments in the bringing up of his son Richard according to the principles laid down in the book, and submitting the boy, on the occasion of a visit to France made in 1771 for the purpose of undertaking some engineering work at Lyons, to the inspection of Rousseau himself.

Maria Edgeworth—Education.

In 1782 Mr. Edgeworth settled down finally with his wife and family at Edgeworthstown, intending, he tells us, "to dedicate the remainder of my life to the improvement of my estate and to the education of my children." In this double undertaking his chief helper, after his wife, was

¹ Dr. Darwin, grandfather of Charles Darwin.

^{. 2} Thomas Day (1748-1789), author of Sandford and Merton.

his daughter Maria, now a girl of fifteen. Except for the black draughts prescribed and administered to her by Thomas Day to rectify her weakness of evesight, and the drastic gymnastic treatment which she was obliged to undergo at school in the vain hope of increasing her always diminutive stature, her childhood had been one of enviable uneventfulness. Her education had been received at two of the best boarding-schools of the time-Miss Latafiere's school at Derby, and Mrs. Davis', Upper Wimpole Street, London, where even then she contrived to win friends by her story-telling powers. Whether it was due entirely to natural gift and to love of reading, or whether the boarding-schools which she attended were as superior to others of the period in point of education as they were in social standing, the fact remains that Miss Edgeworth managed to become one of the learned women of her day, a blue-but without knowledge of the classical languages.1 Her letters give evidence of the wideness of her reading. Her Italian was good; her French spoken "with so much ease and spirit, that her powers appeared as brilliant as if she was using her native language"; her knowledge of French classical literature such that it charmed the members of the old aristocracy whom she met on her visits to Paris?

Her knowledge of science she was herself apt to disparage, and we find her writing after her father's death of a sequel to *Harry and Lucy*, that she is obliged to go warily, "as it must be more scientife" than the first part and she has "so little knowledge on these subjects." Thomas Day had directed her reading during vacations, but undoubtedly she owed much of her general education

¹ This is to be inferred from a passage in one of her letters.

^{**}Constance Hill, Maria Edgeworth and her Circle in the Days of Buonaparte and Bourbon, p. 45.

to her father, who seems to have had encyclopaedic tastes, and to have combined in the oddest way a passion for mechanics with a love of classical literature.

Life at Edgeworthstown.

Such was Maria Edgeworth when in 1782 she settled down at Edgeworthstown, which, but for occasional visits to England and the Continent, continued to be her home during the rest of her life. Here she had, though herself hardly more than a child in years, ample opportunity of studying children at first hand. The family party was a large one, including the six or seven children, the number being later increased by a whole beyy of little step-brothers and sisters. Their education in the stricter sense of the word was in the hands of Mr. and Mrs. Edgeworth, one child only, her brother Henry, being handed over to the exclusive care of Maria. But much of the task of entertaining the whole party seems to have fallen to their elder sister, and it was for the benefit of her young charges that the stories published in 1796 as the First Part of The Parent's Assistant were first concocted, written on a slate and afterwards read aloud to them?

The life at Edgeworthstown was a busy one. Mr. Edgeworth was much occupied in improving his house and land, and furnishing his tenants with advice and help. Yet the education of his children never failed to come first with him. His daughter writes of him in this connection:—
"The variety of his occupations assisted in affording him daily and hourly opportunities for giving instruction in his

¹ "This band of brothers and sisters was a good quarry for Miss Edgeworth." (Elton, A Survey of Eighteenth Century Literature, 1780-1830.)

² The complete book was published in six volumes in 1800.

manner, without formal lectures or lessons." Thus if building were going on or repairs being done, the children of the family were invited to be present, to ask questions and make observations. Mr. Edgeworth believed that they benefited by "joining in thought and conversation with the rest of the family," and himself endeavoured to set an example of "fairness, candour and patience" in the pursuit of knowledge.

The "Household System of Education.

The conditions of life in this remote part of Ireland so far approximated to those producing the "household system" of elucation, for which the Chicago school of educators endeavour to provide a substitute. The following extract from a letter of Miss Edgeworth to her cousin illustrates the point "There are, an please von, ma'am, a great many good things here. There is a balloon hanging up, and another going to be put on the stocks; there is soap male, and making from a receipt in Nicholson's Chemistry: there is excellent ink made and to be made by the same book; there is a cake of roses just squeezed in a vice, by my father, according to the advice of Ma lame de Lagarave, the woman in the black cloak and ruffles, who weighs with unwearied scales, in the frontispiece of a book, which perhaps my aunt remembers, entitled Chemie du qu'it et de l'odorat. There are a set of accurate weights, just completed by the ingenious Messrs. Lovell and Henry Edgeworth, partners: for Henry is now a junior partner, and grown an inch and a half upon the strength of it in two months. And my aunt would like to see the new staircase, and to see a kitcat view of a robin redbreast on her nest in a saw pit, discovered by Lovell, and you would like to pick Emmeline's fine strawberries after dinner.

and to see my mother look so much better in the midst of us."

But besides the constant incidental teaching, which must have been chiefly connected with scientific or practical work, Mr. Edgeworth loved to read aloud to his family scenes from the Greek tragedies (in translation), from Pope's Iliad and Odyssey, from Shakespeare and Milton. For lighter moments he erected a little theatre for the production of plays written by himself and his daughter. At another period, in order to amuse his wife and family, he had begun to relate what he called The History of the Freeman Family, adding to it every evening. His daughter tried to write it down from memory, and afterwards developed what she remembered of it into her novel, Patronage.

"Essays on Practical Education."

During all the years at Edgeworthstown, Mr. Edgeworth and his wife were keeping a daily record of their children's development, a practice begun in 1776, in which Maria when old enough joined, though working independently. The outcome of it was the Essays on Practical Education, which were finished and published in 1798, in the midst of the disturbances of the Rebellion. The book was the first in which Mr. Edgeworth avowed that "literary partnership" with his daughter which was so characteristic of them both. In the case of some few volumes there was real collaboration between father and daughter, in most of the others it is generally admitted that the part played by Mr. Edgeworth was that of pruning and editing-work which would far better have been left alone. In particular, besides the strain of moralising which he considered an essential feature, there seems to have been a vigorous sup-

pression of that delightful humour in which Miss Edgeworth's letters and conversations were steeped, and which Sydney Smith described as a "perfume of wit." How valuable a little more of that sheer fun and merry nonsense would have been in her books for children one can only estimate by the relief afforded by the occasional gleams of it, which she seems to have been unable entirely to exclude from her books.

Even before Letters for Literary Ladies, published in 1795, Miss Edgeworth had, by her father's advice, tried her prentice hand at translating Medame de Genlis' Addie et Theodore, a piece of work apparently only partially completed, owing to the expected publication of another translation before it was ready. The fact is noteworthy only as foreshadowing Miss Edgeworth's interest in French educational literature.

In 1801 appeared Early Loss us, a volume of stories for very young children, and Model Tales, a kind of sequel to The Parent's Assistant Popular Tules were published in 1504

In 1802 these literary labours were interrupted by a visit made by Mr. and Mrs Edgeworth, Maria and her sister Charlotte to Paris. The fame of the Practical Education and other books had preceded them; their own attractive personalities and consinship with the Abbé Edgeworth did the rest. They thus had the entry of the most distinguished literary circles in Paris, circles into which, as Miss Edgeworth wrote, "many English of rank and fortune far, far superior to ours, cannot force or win or buy their way." In particular they met the most famous women educators of the time, -Madame de Pastoret, the first to set up an Infant School in Paris; Madame Delessert, the friend of Rousseau; Madame Campan, whose boarding-school, the best in Paris, was conducted in some

respects on the principles of the Practical Education; Madame de Rémusat and Madame de Genlis. In addition, though no account is given of the incident, Pestalozzi himself. Of the visit to Madame de Genlis, now an old and unattractive woman, but still a potent influence in English educational circles, Miss Edgeworth's letters reveal only a sense of disillusionment.

Mr. Edgeworth and Elementary Education.

But to return to life at Edgeworthstown. In 1798 Mr. Edgeworth had been returned for Parliament, thus gaining opportunity of doing definite work for the cause of elementary school education in Ireland, in which he had been interested ever since he had made his home at Edgeworths-It was largely owing to his influence that a Select Committee was appointed in that year to enquire into the state of elementary education in Ireland. He defended the Report of that Committee in February 1799 in an able speech, moving that "the state of public education in this country is highly defective, and requires the interposition of Parliament." He also recommended that "one or more schools should be established in each parish," that the masters of these schools should undergo some test of efficiency, and that the schools themselves be inspected from time to time. As a consequence leave was given to introduce a bill "for the improvement of the education of the people of Ireland," but it seems never to have become law. From 1806-11 Mr. Edgeworth was member of a second Board of Commissioners appointed to examine into the state of education in Ireland.

At the same time he was taking an even more active and personal part in solving the educational problem in another direction. Long before his project could be realised, he

had planned a school for Edgeworthstown which should serve as a model to the rest of Ireland. In 1816, a year before his death, the school was actually founded by his son Lovell, in accordance with principles laid down by him. By 1820 it was in a flourishing condition, and had become famous, boys of all classes attending it, Protestants and Catholies alike. A sketch of the school was published in the Appendix to The Mem irs. In it Mr. Edgeworth lays special stress on the necessity for good play-ground accommodation, on intelligent teaching without too much memory work, and on instruction in morals. Boys intended for the learned protessions were to leave at the age of ten and pass on to a public school, others were to stay a few years longer and to get some technical training.

Miss Edgeworth at Yverdun

² Hare, Vol. I., p. 319

Little remains to record of Miss Elgeworth's life after 1817, the year of her father's death. Her task for the next year or two was that of writing his Memoirs. In 1820 she went to Paris again, passed on to Switzerland and Italy, and, her interest in education as fresh as ever, visited Pestalogzi at Yverdum en route. She refers to him thus in a letter home:

"He recognised me and I him; he is, tell my mother, the same wild-looking man he was, with the addition of seventeen years. The whole superintendence of the school is now in the hands of his masters; he just shows a visitor into the room, and reappears as you are going away with a look that pleads irresistibly for an obol of praise."

¹ Sir Walter Se itt amongst others was favourably impressed by it on his visit to Edgeworthstown in 1825. The school-band which turned out on the evening of his arrival to play Scotch airs for him by moonlight especially delighted him. (Hare, Vol. H., p. 134.)

From Yverdun she went on to the institutions of de Fellenberg and Père Girard.

At home she performed for many years the double duty of managing the estate and pursuing her literary work. Whilst writing her longer works she was constantly adding to the stock of tales, chiefly in the form of sequels to those already published. Her last story, Orlandino, was written to raise funds for Irish famine sufferers, and no contribution to that fund can have given her greater pleasure than the barrels of flour and rice sent by a group of child-admirers in Boston and labelled, "To Miss Edgeworth for her Poor." She died in 1849.

CHAPTER II.

EDUCATIONAL INFLUENCES.

An English "Emile."

Like his friend Thomas Day Mr. Edgeworth was first won over to interest in education by the publication of the *Emile*, doubtless parely owing to the fact that he was in a position, a year or two after its appearance, to put its precepts to a practical test. But, in addition, the "novelty" and "eloquence" of the book had captivated him, and its ideas seemed "plausible" as compared with the follies and absurdities of much of the private education of the time. Hence the attempt, begun in 1767, to bring up his son Richard Lovell Edgeworth as an English "Emile." Mr. Edgeworth's account of the experiment and of what he considered its failure is well known, but is worth repeating as illustrating the earliest phase of his educational practice.

"I dressed my son," he writes, "without steckings, with his arms bare, in a jacket and trousers such as are quite common at present, but which were at that time novel and extraordinary. I succeeded in making him remarkably hardy. I also succeeded in making him fearless of danger, and what is more difficult, capable of bearing privation of every sort. He had all the virtues of

¹ The Memoirs, Vol. I., from which the following extracts are also taken,

a child bred in the hut of a savage, and all the knowledge of things which could well be acquired at an early age by a boy bred in civilised society. I say knowledge of things, for of books he had less knowledge at four or five years old, than most children have at that age. Of mechanics he had a clearer conception, and in the application of what he knew more invention, than any child I had then seen. He was bold, free, fearless, generous; he had a ready and keen use of all his senses and of his judgment. But he was not disposed to obey; his exertions generally arose from his own will; and though he was what is commonly called good-tempered and good-natured, though he generally pleased by his looks, demeanour and conversation, he had too little deference for others, and he showed an invincible dislike to control. With me he was always what I wished; with others, he was never anything but what he wished to be himself." 1

It is interesting to note the sequel. On a visit to France when the boy was seven or eight years old, a halt was made in Paris and he was submitted to the inspection of Rousseau, who took him with him on his usual morning stroll, in order to form an adequate opinion of his development. Asked for his verdict, Rousseau replied, that "he thought him a boy of abilities, which had been well cultivated; and that in particular his answers to some questions on history proved, contrary to the opinion given in *Emilius* and *Sophia*, that history can be advantageously learned by children, if it is taught reasonably, and not merely by rote." One flaw only he had discovered, "a propensity to

¹The delay of literary education was characteristic of the system. Mr. Day in a letter to Mr. Edgeworth had written, "Never trouble yourself about Dick's reading and writing, he will learn it sooner or later, if you let him alone; and there is no danger except that the people of Henley may call him a dunce."

party prejudice." Asked how he could have arrived at so decided an opinion in so short a time, Rousseau replied that whenever young Edgeworth had seen a handsome horse or a handsome carriage in the street, he always exclaimed, "That is an English horse, or an English carriage!"—and that, even down to a pair of shoe buckles, everything that appeared to be good of its kind was always pronounced by him to be English, "In fact," adds Mr Edgeworth, with commendable detachment, "the boy lel the species of party spirit, which Rousseau remarks I, and this prophecy, as after events proved, showed has sagenty."

Failure of the Experiment

So far the experiment see and successful, but the stay in France did not act favourably on the boy's development. Mr. Edgeworth owns with regret that he was himself unable to superintend his education with the same care as he had done in England, that the tutor engaged proved incompetent, the box speedily outstripping him in his French, and refusing to barn Latin from one whom he counted his intellectual inferior. Finally the failure of the experiment in Mr. Edgeworth's eyes stood confessed. when to save further trouble his son had to be sent to school that conducted by "les peres de l'Oratoire" at Lyons - where, true to his upbringing, he rebuffed with considerable adroitness the only attempt made to convert him to the Roman Catholic faith. The rest can easily be imagined. After some time spent at a public school on their return to England, young Edgeworth insisted on going to sea, and finally migrated to the States, where he married and settled down.

It is customary nowadays to ridicule the so-called

"Rousseau-Spartan-Red-Indian training" which Mr. Edgeworth meted out to his son. In actual fact it was remarkable only in virtue of being an anachronism and is by no means inconsistent with educational ideals in certain quarters at the present day. The freedom of dress, the training to hardihood and independence by life in the open air, the predominantly realistic education, even the disregard of convention and contempt for overmuch authority, can easily be paralleled in schools of the Abbotsholme type, both in this country and on the Continent. Perhaps on that account one cannot feel that the outcome of the experiment was as disastrous as Mr. Edgeworth considered it. It was, however, sufficiently unexpected and unwelcome to cure him of too rigid an adherence to Rousseau's views, and that nearly twenty years before the publication of his principal educational work, the Practical Education.

The Influence of Rousseau.

Even in that book, however, are to be found traces of Rousseau's influence. Of these perhaps the most curious, and that which best illustrates the individualistic character of the system of education therein described, was the attempt to educate the children of one family, though living in the same house, to some extent apart from one another. In the Edgeworth household itself, where difference of age was so great, it was possible to distribute the care of the children over the various older members of the family—one child being handed over completely to Maria, another to her sister, a third to an aunt. It was a counsel of necessity, but not that alone, for Mr. Edgeworth expressly states in the *Practical Education* that he con-

¹ Mrs. Field, The Child and His Book, p. 270.

siders it best that children, when young, should not see too much of each other. "The gregarious propensity in childhood should not be included without great precautions." "Children should not be educated for the society of children; nor should they live in that society during their education." Other extravagances of Rousseau Mr. Edgeworth definitely repudiated.—the contempt for habit, the instruction by means of artificial experiences; but in the importance attached to sense-training and to realistic studies generally, in the active part assigned the child in the work of his own education, as well as in minor points, he is at one with Rousseau. But more important than any of these was that to which Rousseau seems to have inspired all his followers - the readiness to throw overboard all preconceptions as to the nature and methods of education, and to base curriculum and methods alike on what observation of the child revealed.

The Influence of Locke.

With the reaction from Rousseau another and more conservative, though by no means opposite, influence strengthened and gained permanency. All educationists are probably influenced more or less by the facts of their own upbringing, though often in a negative direction, and Mr. Edgeworth was no exception to the rule. The rationalistic bias of his own education, which had produced marked effect on his character and personality, was such as to predispose him to close imitation of Locke in educational practice. Nor, once his extravagances were renounced, was it a difficult task to reconcile this with a limited adherence to Rousseau's teaching. Differences of theory trouble the practical man but little. In the present instance it was chiefly in the department of moral

training that any real antagonism of principle existed, and Mr. Edgeworth surmounted the difficulty by adopting the best in the theory of each writer. Thus, while there is to be no unnecessary thwarting of the child's natural desires, habit is to be all-important in moral training. The discipline of natural consequences is to be allowed to work out reward and punishment for the child, yet esteem and disgrace are also to play their part. But the most outstanding feature is pure Locke. "Children are to be treated as rational creatures," and their education is only to be considered complete when they have reached the standpoint of their parent or tutor, and have learned to recognise the claims of Reason as paramount in their own lives.

Of minor echoes of the teaching of Locke there is no lack in the *Practical Education*,—the strong preference for private as opposed to public education: the stress laid on the importance of good company: the insistence on the making of learning attractive, and banishment of drudgery: the condemnation of overmuch memory work: the belief in the almost unlimited power of education and small place ascribed to natural endowment.¹

We have taken the *Practical Education* as presenting Mr. Edgeworth's educational views in their most characteristic form. Expressing as it did the conclusions of maturer life, it was also through the medium of this book that they first became known to the public, and though, as we learn from *The Memoirs*, he saw reason to modify his opinions very considerably, yet they were never actually committed to print in altered form. From *The Memoirs*, however, and from chance utterances in the *Professional Education* it is evident that, with the conservative ten-

¹ Cp. also Helvetius, with whose views Mr. Edgeworth has much in common.

dency of years, Mr. Edgeworth inclined more than in early days to the conception of education as a discipline.

Further scrutiny of the pedagogy of the Edgeworths resolves itself, to a greater extent than is the ease with the majority of writers on educational subjects, into an analysis of each of their pelagogical works in turn, and this because each book stands for one distinct aspect of their educational interests with comparatively little reference to any other. Thus it is to the Practical Education that we owe the clearest exposition of their general pedagogy, and to the Tales the illustration of its leading principles. The Letters for Literary Ladies concerns itself with the question of the higher education of women. the Professional Educatic, with vocational training alone. Of them all the Practical Education is of the most fundamental importance to the understanding of their theory, and it must therefore be considered first and in greatest detail

CHAPTER III.

PRACTICAL EDUCATION.

Its Characteristic Features.

Practical Education-based on Experiment.

"If we could obtain a distinct and full history of all that hath passed in the mind of a child, from the beginning of life and sensation, till it grows up to the use of reason, how its infant faculties begin to work, and how they brought forth and ripened all the various notions, opinions and sentiments, which we find in ourselves, when we come to be capable of reflection, this would be a treasure of natural history, which would probably give more light into the human faculties, than all the systems of philosophers about them from the beginning of the These words of Reid's are Mr. Edgeworth's apology for the publication of his book, Practical Education. Not that he professes to be able to supply more than a few "scattered notices" of what the philosopher had demanded, but he hopes to rouse others to follow on the same lines, so that in time "a full history of the infant mind" may be obtained.

The plan of noting down facts of interest with regard to their children's development had been originally that of Mrs. Honora Edgeworth, who believed that education should be considered as an experimental science, and that it was a mistake to follow theory instead of practice. The term "experimental" is used in no scientific sense. method adopted was, on the one hand, to note down conversations between parents and children which exhibited some important characteristic of child nature, and to deduce principles of educational practice from the observations made, while on the other hand submitting theories of other educationists to a practical test before adopting them. Thus the nucleus of a little book was formed, which gradually took shape as the Essays on Practical Education. The composition of the book, like the collecting of material for it, was a family affair, though the plan and general superintendence of the whole was Mr. Edgeworth's 1 He himself wrote the chapters on the Subjects of Instruction, e.g., those on Grammar, Arithmetic, Geography, etc.: his son Lovell sketched the chapter on Chemistry, and all the rest (exclusive of the chapter on Obedience, which was written from notes left by Mrs. Edgeworth), including the essays on Toys.: Female Accomplishments, etc., were the work of Maria Edgeworth.

The book, in spite of much that is valuable in it, is difficult to read. The style is diffuse, the introduction of anecdote and of slightly irrelevant matter frequent. Hence a process of sifting and rearrangement would be necessary in order to render its contents acceptable to modern

¹ All quotations are from the third chition of *Practical Education*, 1811.

² So the Preface to the Proceed Edicarlan informs the reader. The views expressed in the book, however, so very evidently originated with Mr. Edgeworth, that they have in the following pages invariably been referred to him, except in the case of the chapters on "Toys" and "Femile Accomplishments," where Miss Edgeworth's hand most clearly shows.

readers. At the time of its publication it was regarded as setting forth a novel and characteristic species of education. One aspect of this "practical education," viz., the part to be played by observation and experiment in determining its character, we have already touched upon.

Private Education Defended.

The book put forward, in the second place, a plea for private as opposed to public education. For though throughout the earlier part of the century the current of public opinion had been gradually setting in this direction, yet the question as to the relative value of home versus school education was still a fruitful source of discussion. William Godwin, writing only the year before the publication of Practical Education, had pronounced in favour of the public school, as alone producing scholars and providing a world in miniature favourable to development of character. Mr. Edgeworth's arguments on the opposite side are well-worn, vet not altogether out of date:-the unwieldy number of pupils, which renders individual attention impossible,—the insignificant place that is given "to the general improvement of the understanding and formation of the moral character,"—the exclusive study of the classics. Again, the schools are expected to make good all deficiences which are the consequence of a faulty early education. "To a public school as to a general infirmary for mental disease, all desperate subjects are sent." But the strongest argument against the public school was the possible influence of bad companions, an evil which in Mr. Edgeworth's mind is not confined to the school, and which led him to condemn all possible intercourse between

¹ Cambridge History of English Literature, Vol. IX., J. W. Adamson, "Education, 1660 1750."

children and servants in the home. Incidents in his own early life had led him to the conclusion that "ladies' maids, young gentlemen's gentlemen, footmen, grooms and coachmen, have often more influence than the preceptor or governess; and that they are in fact, remotely or immediately, the cause of much of the extravagance, vice and follies of those under whom they seem to serve." Yet private education, however desirable, is, he admits, an impossibility in the majority of household. Where therefore school is inevitable, at least the first 5 to 10 years of life should be devoted to education at home under the superintendence of the father of the family himself. "A father who has time, talents and temper to educate his family is certainly the best possible preceptor."

In later life Mr. Edgeworth's views on the matter underwent some change. He no longer considered the public school as only a second best, and was even willing to admit that the work of early education could be carried on in a small preparatory school as satisfactorily as in the family. He recognised also that, in his daughter's phrase, "a certain robustness of mind and security of mental health" could be obtained by intercourse with all sorts of people.

Attractive Methods of Teaching.

While one distinctive feature of "practical education" was that it was to be given in the home, another was the making of learning by every means attractive to the

¹ Cp. Locke's views on the subject. The effort to keep children from all intercourse with servants was considered an important feature of practical education. Miss Edgeworth on visiting Madame Campan's school in Paris, found that she was carrying out the teaching of the book in this respect. (Hill.)

learner. The time given to lessons was to be very considerably curtailed. "If it be considered how very little real knowledge school-boys acquire in 2,000 hours between Christmas and Christmas, parents might fairly compound for twice the knowledge in half the time." Frequent but very short lessons, and these given on improved lines, would produce the desired effect. Thus one of the Edgeworth children was taught to read "in the space of eight hours—not in eight successive hours, but at the rate of six or seven minutes a day." Similarly a child beginning Arithmetic worked at it for four or five minutes a day only, during the first year. As soon as signs of weariness appeared the lessons were stopped. Again, "half an hour every morning for many years during the period of dressing" had been devoted to the instruction of boys at different stages in various languages and "no other time spent on it." It is plain that such a course was practicable only in a family, and desirable only in the earlier stages of a child's education. It had, besides the negative advantage of not wearving the pupil, also the positive one which all slow and gradual teaching secures, and which "cram" effectually eliminates,—the formation of numerous and varied associations with the matter taught.

Incidental Instruction.

Except in the case of that given in reading and writing, such a procedure implied much incidental instruction, and this is characteristic of the home education of the period, as it must be of all such education, more particularly where the parents undertake the task of instruction themselves. Thus Mr. Edgeworth suggests that when "a child is building a house, we may take that opportunity to teach him how bricks are made, . . . the nature of the key-

stone and butments of an arch, the manner in which all the different parts of the roof of a house are put together." Such constant incidental instruction made for a kind of encyclopaedism, in which however emphasis was generally laid on the explanation of natural phenomena.

Though avowedly a reaction against the long lesson hours and dull rote learning of the schools, these methods were not without their peculiar danger. Undue stress was laid on the informational side of education. Instruction was apt either to be pushed into a corner in the absence of anything like a fixed time-table, or, (and this was more frequently the case), it might be overdone, every incident in the day being closely padded with information. latter tendency is best illustrated in the Early Lessons and other tales written to exemplify the principles of Practical Education, and in books of the Evenings at Home and Eyes and No-Lyes type, which have in some respects exercised an adverse influence on school-room literature even to the present day. For while Miss Edgeworth's tales had a perfectly natural origin, being intended for the juvenile members of her own honsehold, and owing their attractiveness to the familiarity of the incidents therein described, to the majority of children they came bringing merely a store of second-hand information, robbed of all the charm of personal discovery. Thus we may well believe that the brothers and sisters of Miss Edgeworth were really taught the analysis of the number 10 by the agreeable method of gathering 6 strawberries and 4 strawberries, then 5 strawberries and 5 strawberries; and that the scene at the tea-table in which Lucy holds a cold plate over the wax candle and Harry another cold plate over the tallow candle, thus collecting a considerable

¹ By Mrs. Barbauld (1743-1825).

quantity of smoke or soot, while another cold plate was held over the tea-urn in which water was boiling, thus illustrating the principles of evaporation and condensation, was no uncommon one in the Edgeworth household. Such impromptu scientific demonstrations, however destructive of the comfort of their elders, are popular with most children. They have value however only when witnessed at first hand, little or none when merely read about in the story-book or reader. Yet the wise tutor, the omniscient father or uncle of the reading-books is still with us—has been with us now for over a century; and is destined to linger on so long as the law of laziness prevails, and it is easier to supply information through the medium of the printed page than to aid the pupil to acquire it for himself.

Supposed Neglect of Religious Training.

Such then were some of the characteristic features of "practical education." A frequent and bitter charge made against it was that it dispensed wholly with religious training; so much so, that Mr. Edgeworth found it necessary, in the preface to the second edition of the Essays, explicitly to disavow the intention of "laying down a system of education founded upon morality, exclusive of religion." He explains his silence on the subject by the impossibility of finding any "particular system" of religious instruction which should meet with universal approval. In the preface to the Manual, in which he had intended embodying the educational opinions of later life, but the main

¹ Early Lessons.

² Such an accusation dies hard. We find it recurring in Compayré's *History of Pedagogy* in the account of Miss Edgeworth:— "The characteristic of her system is that it makes 'a total abstraction of religious ideas."

body of which was never written, he recurs to the matter again, expressly stating that one part of his aim in the education of his own children had been "to give them a sense of religion, a profound veneration for the unknown cause of their existence, and a sincere and practical submission to those decrees, which are to us in our present state inscrutable." On another occasion, he put the matter even more unequivocally: -"We are convinced," he wrote, "that religious obligation is indispensably necessary in the education of all descriptions of people, in every part of the world."

¹ The Memoirs, Vol. 11., p. 386.

In a letter to the Editor of Rees Cyclopedia quoted in The Memoirs.

CHAPTER IV.

"ESSAYS ON PRACTICAL EDUCATION."

(1) EARLY EDUCATION.

General Plan of the "Essays."

We pass now to a closer examination of Mr. Edgeworth's principal educational work-the Essays on Practical Education. The characteristic form taken by the book, viz, that of separate essays somewhat miscellaneously arranged, together with what we know of the mode of its composition, would in themselves be sufficient to remind us, even if our author did not expressly disclaim his ability to provide anything of the sort, that we cannot expect to find in it a complete system of education in the modern sense of the word. On the contrary Mr. Edgeworth states, that on the one hand he has no new theory of education to offer, and that on the other the more or less fragmentary and anecdotal character of the book illustrates the fundamental difference between treatment of the subject from the practical and from the theoretical point of view. He aims in his book only at laving "before parents a general view of the human mind . . . of proper methods of teaching, and of the objects of rational instruction." For, in spite of his hope of making of education "an experimental science," he is obliged to confess that the science of education is still only in its infancy, and that anything more than the above cannot for the present be attempted.

That being so, it is vain to look to the Essays on Practical Education for a clear and precise statement of the aim of education, such as would give coherence and unity to the whole mass of pedagogical doctrine therein contained: and indeed it is doubtful whether the need for such a unifying principle had as yet been grasped by Mr. Edgeworth. The nearest approach to a definite statement of the aim of education is relegated to a preface—"the producing in every station a sound mind, the giving that good sense, which in morality, religion and politics, guides to what is most reasonable, and which in all the affairs of common life leads to the establishment of good character and permanent prosperity"—a definition which does not carry us very far, as it clearly refers to the education of the community rather than to that of the individual.

It being therefore impossible to fit Mr. Edgeworth's pedagogy into the orthodox modern moulds, we find it best to follow the classification of topics which was usual at the time, and which the author himself suggests, and to discuss the subject under the headings of (1) Early Education—(2) the Education of the Understanding—and (3) the Education of the Heart.

Exercise of Limbs and Sense-Training.

The Essay on "Toys," which contains the Edgeworths views on early education, opens with a strong protest against the useless playthings of the day, which provide neither entertainment nor sense-training. Written nearly twenty years before Froebel opened his first school at Griesheim, it in many respects anticipates his teaching on the subject of play.

¹ For further elucidation of Mr. Edgeworth's conception of the aim of education *vide* p. 58; also Chapter VI., "The Education of the Heart."

"Practical education," writes Miss Edgeworth, "begins very early, even in the nursery." Habits are acquired earlier than is generally thought; early impressions are more lasting than is commonly believed. Infancy is the period when senses and limbs are to be developed: the child must therefore be allowed to "experiment" without interference. "An infant should never be interrupted in its operations; whilst it wishes to use its hands, we should not be impatient to make it walk, nor when it is pacing with all the attention to its centre of gravity that is exerted by a rope dancer, suddenly arrest its progress, and insist upon its pronouncing the scanty vocabulary which we have compelled it to learn. When children are busily trying experiments upon objects within their reach, we should not, by way of saving them trouble, break the course of their ideas, and totally prevent them from acquiring knowledge by their own experience." "A just degree of attention must be paid to its first experiments upon hard and heavy, and more especially upon sharp, brittle, and burning bodies. But this degree of care should not degenerate into cowardice; it is better that a child should tumble down, or burn its fingers, than that it should not learn the use of its limbs and its senses."

Rational Toys.

Like Froebel Miss Edgeworth believes that toys should minister to the child's development. Children "require to have things which continually exercise their senses or their imagination, their imitative and inventive powers." The fashionable toys of the day do not meet these requirements and are unsparingly condemned. They are "frail and useless," but no great harm is done "as long as a child has sense and courage to destroy" them. Indeed the tendency in a child to break his toys or to pull them

to pieces is a failing that leans to virtue's side. It is prompted either by the desire to see what his playthings are made of, or in order to exercise his constructive powers in the putting of them together again. Only toys that will stand such treatment are to be sanctioned. Elaborate mechanical toys in particular are to be deprecated. "When the wooden woman has churned her hour in her empty churn: when the stiff-backed man has hammered or sawed till his arms are broken, or till his employer's arms are tired; when the gilt lamb has ba-ad, the obstinate pig squeaked and the provoking cuckoo cried cuck-oo, till no one in the house can endure the noise; what remains to be done?-Woe betide the unlucky little philosopher, who should think of enquiring why the woman churned, or how the bird cried cuckoo; for it is ten to one that in prosecuting such an enquiry, just when he is on the eve of discovery, he snaps the wire, or perforates the bellows, and there ensue a "death-like silence and a dread repose."

All this is essentially modern in spirit, yet we are not allowed to forget that this is still the eighteenth century. Miss Edgeworth fears that dolls, though they may be "the means of inspiring girls with a taste for neatness in dress," may also encourage "a love of finery and fashion." Again, the child "presiding at her baby tea-table... is confirmed in the persuasion, that tattling and visiting are some of the most enviable privileges of grown people."

What then is to take the place of the usual fragile toys which are showered upon children by parents and relatives? Again we are reminded of Froebel, even of Montessori. "The first toys for infants should be merely such things as may be grasped without danger, and which might, by the difference of their sizes, invite comparison: round ivory or wooden sticks should be put into their little hands; by degrees they will learn to lift them to their

mouths, and they will distinguish their sizes: square and circular bits of wood, balls, cubes and triangles, with holes of different sizes made in them, to admit the sticks, should be their playthings." For older children "pieces of wood of various shapes and sizes, which they may build up and pull down, and put in a variety of different forms and positions; balls, pulleys, wheels, strings and strong little carts."

Carefully chosen pictures are valuable, but they must above all be accurate, particularly in the case of animals which are unfamiliar. Too commonly "the mouse and the elephant are nearly of the same size; and the salmon and whale fill the same space in the page." The examination of pictures leads to the desire to draw, and "at this moment no toy, which we could invent for them, would give them half so much pleasure as a pencil." Modelling in clay and wax, and basket-weaving will satisfy the constructive instinct. Boys who are too young to make a proper use of carpenters' tools may be supplied with card, pasteboard, substantial but not sharp-pointed scissors, wire, gum and wax, and with these simple materials model furniture and buildings, finally machines. Gardening will provide occupation for fine days; and the collecting of fossils and natural history specimens in cabinets designed for the purpose will lead to the use of the microscope. But in preserving such collections the co-operation of parents is necessary, otherwise "the labour of years falls a sacrifice in an instant to the housemaid's undistinguishing broom."

Games too have their uses—particularly games "of dexterity and activity," such as those with tops, kites, hoops,

¹Cp. Ruskin's account of his toys in *Practerita*. "I had a bunch of keys to play with, as long as I was capable only of pleasure in what glittered and jingled; as I grew older, I had a eart and a ball; and when I was five or six years old, two boxes of well-cut wooden bricks."

balls, battledores and shuttlecocks, ninepins and cup and

With older children play will naturally merge into simple experiments in chemistry and physics, for which inexpensive apparatus should be provided.

Education in Play.

All this would read like advice for the conduct of a twentieth century nursery, were it not that the desire to instruct never fails to obtrude in an unfamiliar way. It was an age when education in play and educative games were highly esteemed. Of the latter, those invented by the Abbé Gaultier were prime favourites, undertaking as he did to teach such diverse subjects as geography, history, grammar, and morals by a series of "counter" games. While sanctioning a moderate use of such methods the Edgeworths warn against the danger of carrying them too far in the case of any child. "If to entice him to enter the paths of knowledge, we strew them with flowers, how will be feel when he must force his way through thorns and briars?" Incidental instruction during play is rather their method, notions of scientific principles being reached by the use of certain playthings. That being the case, the boy of nine years old who when trundling his hoop was puzzling out an answer to the question, why a hoop or a plate, if rolled upon its edge, keeps up as long as it rolls, but falls as soon as it stops, was as well employed as he could have been by the most learned preceptor.

The danger of overdoing such incidental instruction has already been referred to. Besides its more obvious consequences, it seems to have produced in children a kind of intellectual priggishness, as little in keeping with modern taste as is its counterpart in conduct.

CHAPTER V.

"ESSAYS ON PRACTICAL EDUCATION." (Continued.)

(2) THE EDUCATION OF THE UNDERSTANDING.

A. The Training of the Faculties.

The greater number of the essays in the Practical Education may be grouped under the heading, "The Education of the Understanding." The title, as used in those days, would apply chiefly to the essays on so-called "metaphysical" subjects, which deal with the training of the faculties, but might legitimately cover also those on curriculum and method. The seemingly undue emphasis laid by her father on the intellectual aspect of education Miss Edgeworth explains in The Memoirs. He had in his earlier days believed, though he afterwards modified his opinion, that "if rational creatures could be made clearly to see and understand that virtue will render them happy, and vice will render them miserable . . . they would afterwards, in consequence of this conviction, follow virtue and avoid vice," and therefore the cultivation of the understanding, in the limited sense of "the reasoning faculty applied to the conduct," occupied a foremost place in his educational system.

It is not the purpose of Mr. Edgeworth as a practical educationist to lay down a metaphysic of education. He

is concerned merely "to collect from all metaphysical writers those observations which can be immediately of practical use in education." Thus, while accepting Locke's theory of the tabula rase: "Youth and white paper take all impressions "-he owes much to Reid and Dugald Stewart who rejected it. As a result, he attaches importance to sense-training on the one hand, (see Early Education), and on the other, to the training of the "higher faculties," attention, memory, taste and imagination, wit and indement the whole furnishing a kind of working psychology, which is remarkable chiefly because of the knowledge of childhood underlying it. Three features of it are worthy of special notice—the endeavour to adapt mental training like all else to the peculiarities of mind and temperament in the individual—the reliance that is placed on associations of pleasure and pain in forming mental habits—and most characteristic of all, the handing over to the pupil himself, as soon as ever he shall be ready to undertake it, of the task of his own mental culture.

Attention.

A necessary preliminary to mental progress is the education of Attention.\(^1\) The first steps are taken thus:—as "whatever is connected with pain or pleasure commands our attention," by associating small pleasures with the desired mental activity "the pain of a few moments' prolonged application" is endured. The mother, in order

¹ The order in which the intellectual faculties were to be trained was considered important, though Mr. Edgeworth makes little of it. Elizabeth Hamilton in her Letters on the Elementary Principles of Edwartion, 1801-2, emphasises this point. Perception, Attention, Conception, Judgment, Abstraction, Taste and Imagination, Reflection—this is the order in which Nature "gradually unfolds the powers of the mind."

to secure attention to number, puts a quantity of ripe cherries before the child with the remark: "Tell me, my dear, how many cherries are there, and I will give them to you." Such methods can naturally be applied only in the training of the very young. The stimulus to attention must be as slight as is consistent with producing the desired result. Where it threatens to lose its effect, not increase but variety of stimulus must be relied upon. "When sympathy fails, try curiosity; when curiosity fails, try praise; when praise begins to lose its effect, try blame; and when you go back again to sympathy, you will find that after this interval, it will have recovered all its original power."

In the earlier stages continuous attention should be demanded only for very short periods and never be carried to the point of fatigue. Such periods should be followed by bodily exercise, which will relieve the tension and prevent the acquiring of nervous tricks in order to work off surplus energy, such as buckling and unbuckling the shoe, contorting the face and getting into "strange attitudes." In addition, care should be taken to introduce few new ideas at a time, and to express these in clear and accurate language. With advancing age and increase of mental control all the excitements that were originally used should be withdrawn, and thus "associated" attention should be superseded by voluntary attention.

Such remarks apply to the training of all children in attentive power: the temperament and abilities of individuals should be given special study. "Sluggishness must be distinguished from slowness." Sometimes children appear stupid and heavy, when they are absolutely exhausted by too great efforts of attention. The slow and therefore timid pupil must be led to discover that "attentive patience may do as much as quickness of intellect."

Even the "saunterer" need not be despaired of, "Book-saunterers have only an acute," those who saunter at play and everything "have a chronic disease." Yet, "as long as a child shows energy upon any occasion there is hope: if he 'lend his little soul' to whipping a top, there is no danger of his being a dunce." But Locke's advice to surfeit such a child with play is bad, resting as it does on an artificial and undesirable distinction between work and play. So too his method of rousing the "saunterer" by "praise, amusement, fine clothes, eating." Such extraneous influences achieve nothing in the listless child. "There is no active principle within him, no desire for knowledge excited: his attention is forced, it ceases the moment the external force is withdrawn. He drudges to earn his cream bowl duly set, but he will stretch his lubber length the moment his task is done."

Quick, vivacious children need a tutor who can readily follow their train of reasoning without forcing them irksomely to retrace their thoughts.

Abstraction.

Abstraction of attention, i.e., the power of withdrawing the attention from all external objects, and concentrating it upon some particular set of ideas, can be gained by practice and is especially valuable. The method by which it may be acquired as described by Mr. Edgeworth is a curious one. The child is to be required to play his favourite game or read his favourite book in a room in which there is much noise or much to distract: he will then learn to turn his attention to what is less amusing under similar conditions. This custom was apparently one to which the Edgeworths themselves had been inured

from childhood. Miss Edgeworth, we are told, never had any other study than the common sitting-room, and wrote her novels there in the midst of the talk and varied occupations of a large family circle.

Memory and Invention.

While the Essay on Attention was intended to show that mental activity need not necessarily be distasteful to a child, that on Memory is a protest against the training of rote memory as an end itself. Memory had too often been considered not as a servant to the higher faculties but as a faculty of mind independent of all others. The power to store up and to recall experiences varies with the individual. Those children in whom it is strong must not be indulged in the exercise of it, but rather urged to take increased interest in their surroundings. When it is weak, it should be exercised not in connection with books, but with interesting things or events in everyday life. child is told, "put me in mind of such a thing the moment the cloth is taken away after dinner; or as soon as candles are brought into the room; or when I go by such a shop in our walk this evening." The formation of "wellarranged associations" first of time, then of cause and effect, is the ultimate end in view. In their studies. rather than place reliance upon mere repetition, children should be encouraged to talk freely of what they read, and to retell what has been told to them. Dates and facts of little intrinsic interest need alone be learned by means of Memoria Technica. Above all, children must feel it to be to their advantage to remember. What they feel they can afterwards use is sure not to be forgotten. Thus Memory is an aid to the Inventive Faculty in the cultivation of which Mr. Edgeworth is naturally much interested, though it is doubtful whether his remarks are of any practical value nowadays. The method of procedure in his own family was the following:—knowledge of mechanical principles having been acquired in conversation, the children were invited when occasion arose to invent some little labour-saving contrivance. Thus one child in the Edgeworth family, seeing the labour involved in ruling lines singly on a sheet of paper, invented a little machine for ruling a page at a stroke, his design being afterwards worked out by his father.

Taste and Imagination.

The cultivation of Taste is to be systematic. The foundation is laid in careful sense-training, but while all the works of nature are to be scanned, only the best works of art are to be studied. The pupil is to be early led to discover that tastes differ. "Shew him, and you need not go further than the Indian screen, or the Chinese paper in your drawing-room, for the illustration, that the sublime and beautiful vary at Pekin, at London, on Westminster Bridge, and on the banks of the Ganges." He is to be led to note the effect which works of art have upon his feelings and why, and is thus to arrive at some general principles of taste. While however a taste for the beautiful may be early acquired, the taste for the sublime is to be encouraged only where it shows itself in simplicity—as in ballad poetry or in the beauties of nature—the sun-rise, the sunset, the sight of the sea.1

With the cultivation of taste must go that of Imagina-

¹ Mr. Edgeworth accepts Dugald Stewart's definition of taste. "Taste is the slow result of an attentive examination and comparison of the agreeable or disagreeable effects produced on the mind by external objects."

tion, the latter being essential to a taste for literature. Here again only the best must be put before the pupil, and that in the best possible manner. "Do not fatigue the eve and ear of your vivacious pupil with the monotonous sounds and confused images of vulgar poetry. Do not make him repeat the finest passages of Shakespeare and Milton; the best effect is lost by repetition, the words, the ideas are profaned. Let your pupils hear eloquence from eloquent lips, and they will own its power." As in the training of other faculties so with the training of imagination; the treatment must be suited to the temperament of the individual child. Children of strong imagination who are peculiarly sensitive to pleasure and pain are liable to sudden antipathies and attractions, and so become the sport of caprice. Such extravagances of feeling are due to faulty associations and can only be cured if taken early. The child given to reverie needs increased physical and mental occupation. With all pupils, however, the government of imagination can best be achieved by the individual himself. "The sooner he is made acquainted with his own character, and the sooner he can be excited to govern himself by reason, or to attempt the cure of his own defects, the better."

Reasoning and Judgment.

Reasoning and judgment are naturally given the highest place in the scale of faculties. "The powers of memory, invention, and imagination ought to be rendered subservient to judgment." Judgment cannot be expected of children till a careful foundation of sense-training has been laid. Therefore, as Rousseau advised, the earliest exercises of this faculty should be with objects which can be seen and touched—comparison of their size, shape,

weight, capacity, measurement of distance, etc. That the right conclusion has been deduced will be evident from the actions of the child even before he can put his reasoning into words. "We may see by the various methods which young children employ to reach what is above them, to drag, to push, to lift different bodies, that they reason." Still little advance can be made till the vocabulary is proportioned to their real knowledge. Judgments of cause and effect are most difficult for young children, owing to their lack of experience. A three-yearold child watching a man mowing grass after rain had asked: "Does the man mowing make the smoke rise from the grass?" Such a question should not be laughed at, but explanation should be delayed till the child knows more and can experiment in the matter. Children should be encouraged to form independent judgments: when older they should be taught a little simple logic.

Such is Mr. Edgeworth's contribution to what is loosely termed the psychology of education. Granted that it is founded upon a psychology of the old type-that the conception of mental life as a process of development has been grasped only in the vaguest and most general formto expect it to be otherwise would be to look for what it was never Mr. Edgeworth's intention to supply. But in the application of those principles which he gathered from the descriptive psychology of his day, and from his own observation of the working of the child-mind, he needs no apology. That some of the devices used to attain certain ends, e.g., that employed in training to concentration of attention, were ingenious rather than practicable is evident enough, and is illustrative of the optimism of the time, which believed all things attainable in the sphere of human endeavour. But the practical maxims laid down for the training of memory, of imagination

and of judgment it would be hard to improve upon, even at the present day.

B. Curriculum and Methods.

Once the nursery stage is passed, one of the first difficulties which the teacher of the young has to encounter is, says Mr. Edgeworth, that of want of sufficient vocabulary. Rousseau had declaimed against "knowledge of words," but the difficulty generally is to apportion the child's vocabulary to his knowledge. He has ideas for which he has no language, and conversely he acquires new words the meaning of which he does not understand. The names of things and qualities perceived by the senses are easily learned and it is possible to check their accurate use. So too with those expressive of simple feelings, but what of words like virtue, justice, beauty? These can only be taught through concrete instances, and the conclusion is that such abstract terms should be avoided in early education. "General terms are, as it were, but the endorsements upon the bundles of our ideas; . . . nor should we be in a hurry to tie up the bundles till we are sure that the collection is tolerably complete."

As to methods of instruction as laid down by Mr. Edgeworth, perhaps the highest praise that can be given them is to recognise that most of what he advises is now commonplace.

Reading and Writing.

When educating his eldest son, he had, as we have seen, postponed the learning of *Reading* and *Writing* till what was then considered a late age. In the *Practical Education* he attempts to steer a middle course between the recommendations of those who wish their children to be

able to read before they can properly articulate, and of those who would have "No tears! No tasks! No masters! Nothing upon compulsion!" and therefore no reading. The ability of the child to understand what he reads is, he feels, the true test of his ability to learn. But how render "the dreadful task" possible and agreeable? "Counters and coaxing and gingerbread" do not carry further than the mere learning of the letters of the alphabet.

He solves the difficulty by employing a system of critical marks. Each letter must stand for only one sound, and to eke out the letters already in use, dots above or below or in some cases, both above and below are to be used. A stroke underneath a letter signifies that it is not to be sounded; double consonants making one sound are hyphened together. The method is a familiar one, and one of the most obvious ways of overcoming the difficulties of a non-phonetic language. Mr. Edgeworth claims to have used it for over twenty years and to have hit upon it by his own invention. We lay stress upon it only because of its modern character, in comparison with the illustrated alphabets and weary lists of syllables in use at the time, and as a serious attempt to tackle the pous asinorum of infancy, learning to read. It is characteristic of the methods of the author of Practical Education that he considers four or five minutes a day for six months sufficient time for a child to have learnt all the vowels and their combinations with consonants. He may then pass on to such a reading-book as Mrs. Barbauld's Lessons.

New difficulties arise in the teaching of *Spelling*. As children learn to spell more by the eye than by the ear, the more they read and write the better spellers will

 $^{^{1}}$ Mrs. Barbauld's $\it Early\,Lessons$ contemplates the child beginning at the age of two!

they become. The child should not learn more than five or six new words a day, and those only words of which he knows the meaning. He may be asked to write down daily also a few words of his own selection, or to spell a sentence he has just spoken.

Grammar.

In his Chapter on Grammar Mr. Edgeworth's methods of teaching are well illustrated. Short but frequent lessons, gradual learning, conversational methods are to be substituted for the "wearisome dragging through of unproductive hours." "One hour's vigorous application is worth a whole day's constrained and vawning study." Reform is nowhere more needed than in the teaching of English and Latin Grammar. A short course of English Grammar is to come first, after which "the first page of tremendous Lilly will lose much of its horror." Some simple Latin sentences are put before the child, with the aid of a dictionary he succeeds in translating them, and thus the use of a grammar as "an appendix to the dictionary" becomes evident. True to his plan of discussing the method rather than the matter of instruction, Mr. Edgeworth tells little of the order in which the Latin anthors are to be studied. He complains bitterly, however, of the lack of suitable text-books. To one of the most popular books of Latin Exercises—Garretson's Exercises—he objects because the moral teaching is of a questionable kind. One

¹ In the Preface to this book, which had reached a tenth edition in Mr. Edgeworth's day, we are told "that it is intended to contain such precepts of morality and religion as ought most industriously to be inculcated into the heads of all learners, contrived so as that children may, as it were, insensibly suck in such principles as will be of use to them afterwards in the manly conduct and ordering of their lives."—(Quoted, Practical Education, Vol. II., p. 5.)

is tempted to ask whether a Latin Composition Book might not sufficiently have fulfilled its end without bringing in the question of morals at all. Valpy's Latin Exercises Mr. Edgeworth prefers, and sees in Comenius' Visible World Displayed a suitable English text-book.

Arithmetic.

The chapter on the teaching of Arithmetic is strikingly modern, and shows how little advance has been made even at the present day in the teaching of that subject. As soon as a child can read he is to learn to count, using the half-inch cubes which have already appeared as toys in the nursery. They are well suited to this purpose, as they can easily be grasped by small fingers and grouped into various forms which can be taken in by the eye at a glance. Thus the various combinations of the numbers up to nine are learned - he name of the number and the symbol being taught together -and addition and subtraction incidentally up to that point. The next step is a difficult one, that in which lo or loo has to be learned as a new whole or integer. The Heal is to be reached by drawing an analogy with green or thack. The convenience of the decimal system of not clear is for eight out thus; the child counts up to 10 with block heldles, then substitutes for these one white pebble. He counts up to 100, substituting for each group of 10 black peobles one white, and finally replacing the lo white by one red pebble. Here the basis of distinction between units, tens and hundreds has been that of electric similarly size or shape could easily le used to serve the same purpose, and so finally the idea of place value is reached. The pupil should at first practise writing numbers on paper ruled in columns, without using the cipher, and so conceive of the 0 as merely helping to fix the position of figures.

As regards the teaching of individual rules little need be said. The "carrying and borrowing" method is to be abandoned for a time, and the method of decomposition substituted as being more easily explained. Multiplication is to be taught as a shortened form of addition, and as merely mechanical memory is wanted for the multiplication table, it may be "set to a cheerful tune." The Italian method of long division is to be used and the rule of three taught by Unitary Method. Problems are to be preferred to sums involving long series of figures. Long sums in avoirdupois weight, tables of "long measure and dry measure, and ale-measure in the country, and alemeasure in London " are to be discarded. In spite of Mr. Edgeworth's protest such tables were still learned many vears later even in the Infant Schools, being reduced to rhyme and sung by the children as they marched or swung in the playground.

Geometry.

The study of Geometry is to be begun with an examination of the balls, cubes, triangles, square and circular bits of wood already referred to in the chapter on "Toys." Then the plane figures are to be studied and so, gradually, the foundations of mathematical knowledge laid. Yet the object is not to "make mathematicians, but to make it easy to our pupil to become a mathematician."

As an example of Mr. Edgeworth's method of teaching this subject orally, the following dialogue may be quoted: the child in question was about seven years old, and knew something of the line, square, and cube. She was asked: "If a line move its own length through the air, so as to produce a surface, what figure will it describe: "She answered: "A square." She was then asked: "If that square be moved downwards or upwards in the air, the

space of the length of one of its own sides, what figure will it, at the end of its motion, have described in the air?" After a few minutes silence she answered: "A cube." It was, under the circumstances, almost inevitable that some of her father's friends should be afraid that the child might by such exercises become "too reasoning," and that whatever power of imagination she might possess would be repressed or never developed. Such fears, however, proved groundless, the child showing as great a delight in literature as she had previously done in mathematics, and so confirming Mr. Edgeworth's favourite theory that talent or genius is a product of close attention to a subject.

Elementary Science.

Elementary Science bulks largely in Mr. Edgeworth's curriculum, as is to be expected in the case of a man who has made the subject his hobby! And it is here that incidental instruction, if not overdone, scores heavily over set lessons. In the chapter on Chemistry, the method of procedure is described. The child gets caught in a snow-storm: he comes indoors and stands before the fire. He notices that his clothes appear to become wetter than before and that in the process the snow has disappeared, he cannot tell where or why. This then is the time to teach him "the dissolution of snow by heat." He is given a cupful of snow, holds it to the fire, and sees that it turns into water, and that the water becomes warmer.

Similarly he discovers that "by diminishing the heat of water it becomes ice, by adding heat to ice it becomes water." He watches the scaling of a letter, the melting of

¹ Mr. Edgeworth was an ingenious mechanician. He was one of the first to invent a semaphore telegraph.

sugar in tea, the boiling of a kettle of water, and, his observations guided by his elders, gains thereby further notions of liquefaction, of saturation, and of evaporation. He is given some simple apparatus and performs simple chemical experiments. The order in which the experiments are taken can naturally not be determined beforehand, but this matters little so long as each is understood before the next is embarked upon and definition is kept strictly in the background.

In similar fashion some of the simpler principles of mechanics are discovered, e.g., the nature of a lever when two boys play at see-saw or when a poker is rested on the

fender to raise the coals in the fire-place.

In teaching elementary science to children, the logical order in which the subject would be studied by the adult must be neglected—rather must the psychological moment be seized. "The proper time to instruct him (the pupil) is when he begins to enquire." The children of the family should be present when any repairs are to be done in the house. If a lock requires mending, or the pump is out of order, they should be allowed to examine each part, to learn the name and to watch the process of repair.

Geography and Chronology.

In the subjects of *Geography* and *Chronology* Mr. Edgeworth is plainly less interested and his remarks are less up-to-date.

In *History*, once the facts are mastered, mechanical helps to memory may be used, e.g., the little ballad of the

Chapter of Kings, beginning:

"William the Conqueror long did reign, And William, his son, by an arrow was slain." With older pupils, Priestley's Chart of Biography—a chart of time, representing in one case the course of Greek history and beginning with the year 600 B.C., and in the other the course of Scriptural history, beginning with the year 4000 B.C.—may be employed. Interest in geography can only be awakened by the teacher seizing any chance circumstances for the purpose. "How many people," asks Mr. Edgeworth, "have become geographers since the beginning of the present war?" Globes are preferable to maps and may be made of oiled silk and blown up like an enormous football, slung between the ceiling and the floor and possibly illuminated.

As a means of teaching geography and history together, Mr. Edgeworth suggests the printing of historical atlases—a familiar enough idea now—the names of famous people and the "reigning opinion of each century" being printed on the margins. He had also tried the familiar plan of drawing a chart of the heavens on the inside cover of an umbrella.

Literature.

Of the teaching of Liberature, except for the chapter on "Books" which was intended to direct parents in the choice of books for their children, our authors have little to say. They contributed later, however, two small volumes dealing with the subject - Partry explained for the use of young People (1802) and Readings on Poetry (1816). These consist of poetral extracts with explanations of difficult words and phrases, and are of a type only too common nowadays. Mr. Edgeworth in the preface to Poetry explained suggests that children should first be introduced to poetry through poetical prose—an idea which Mrs. Barbauld had already made acceptable by her beautiful but now too little known Hymns in Prose for

Children, published in 1781. The Readings in Poetry were intended to supply literary material by the study of which young ladies might improve their conversational powers.

The Objects of Rational Instruction.

As the Essays on the training of the faculties may fairly be held to give the "general view of the human mind" promised by our author, and those on early education and the subjects of instruction to set forth "the proper methods of teaching," there only remain now to be considered "the objects of rational instruction," a topic which may for convenience' sake be treated here. We have to draw our conclusions as to what these objects are from two passages, the one in the Practical Education, the other in Letters for Literary Ladies. Speaking of the boy who enters the public school at the age of ten after a judicious home education, Mr. Edgeworth remarks that such a boy to be considered well educated need not be "a prodigy of learning." His knowledge of Latin verse and of the rules of grammar, his ability to point out places on the map and to "tell the latitude and longitude of all the capitals of Europe" are not to be accepted as criteria of his having received a good education. Rather in order to convince ourselves and others that he has been well educated must we "produce proofs of his being able to reason accurately; of his quickness in invention; of his habits of industry and application; of his having learned to generalise his ideas and to apply his observations and his principles." Once satisfied on these points "we should be in little pain about grammar, or geography, or even Latin; we should be tolerably certain that he would not long remain deficient in any of these."

So in the case of a girl. The defender of the new type

of education in Letters for Literary Ladies is made to remark:—"I do not desire to make my daughter a musician, a painter or a poetess: I do not desire to make her a botanist, a mathematician or a chemist: but I wish to give her the habit of industry and attention, the love of knowledge and the power of reasoning: these will enable her to attain excellence in any pursuit of science or of literature."

These two statements give, as we have said, some hints as to what the aim of instruction is conceived to be; they also indirectly furnish us with some further clue to Mr. Edgeworth's conception of the educational end itself. With regard to the former, instruction is plainly not considered identifiable with education, but rather as standing to it in the relation of means to end. Knowledge is to be acquired not for its own sake, but solely for its educative value. What is the precise part to be played by instruction in the larger work of education we are, however, left to conjecture. It would seem that the disciplinary value of knowledge is to Mr. Edgeworth greater than its content value, though the latter is by no means despised. There are, however, hardly sufficient data to enable us to determine whether Mr. Edgeworth is to be classed as a disciplinarian or not, even if it were not directly opposed to his own conception of himself as a practical educationist to class him as a theorist at all. But if he be indeed a disciplinarian in intellectual matters, though there is little evidence of it in his scheme of moral education, he is a representative of the newer school of disciplinarians, in regarding not the classics but the sciences as the means of discipline.

As to the larger question—that of the educational end—had Mr. Edgeworth been asked to define the aim of education, he would probably have expressed it as, to make of

the child a rational creature. From the passages quoted above, however, read in the light shed upon them by the *Professional Education* and the *Tales*, it would appear that fitness on the part of the pupil to meet all the demands of life might fairly be substituted for that ambiguous phrase. The boy or girl having acquired a stock of intellectual interests, and having learned habits of self-reliance and application, is to be turned out capable of undertaking any new study or any piece of practical work successfully, and ready to decide on any question of morals that may arise. Indeed, except that the physical aspect of education does not receive due attention, Mr. Edgeworth proves his ideas on this subject to be in harmony with those of Herbert Spencer, whose conception of education as a preparation for complete living he to some extent anticipates.

CHAPTER VI.

"ESSAYS ON PRACTICAL EDUCATION." (Continued)

(3) THE EDUCATION OF THE HEART.

Eighteenth Century Discipline.

Mr. Holmes, in his recent criticism of our elementary school system, traces the defects of its discipline back to the theological teaching of the western world. The austerity of that view of human nature has for long determined, according to this theory, the attitude of parent and teacher towards the child. "From very tender years the child has been brought up in an atmosphere of displeasure and mistrust. His spontaneous activities have been repressed as evil. His every act has been looked upon with suspicion. He has been on the defensive, like a prisoner in the dock. He has been ever on the alert for a sentence of doom. He has been cuffed, kicked, caned, flogged, shut up in the dark, fed on bread and water, sent hungry to bed, subjected to a variety of cruel and humiliating punishments, terrified with idle --but to him appalling threats." 1 Whether this be a correct description of the state of affairs in education generally during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries or no, it derives a certain show of verisimilitude from a survey of eighteenth century education.

¹ Holmes, What is and What might be, pp. 45-6.

It was an era when children were expected "to be seen and not heard," "to look at everything and touch nothing," when they were forbidden to sit in their parents' presence, when the breaking of their wills was regarded as a possible and desirable operation. But the clue to such treatment is surely ultimately to be sought in the psychological rather than in the theological sphere. It pointed to an inaccurate diagnosis of the symptoms of childhood, whereby the child was regarded not as a being at a lower stage of development, but as a faulty adult. All that was most characteristic of childhood-its overflow of animal spirits, its delight in sense pleasures, its restlessness, its irresponsibility—seemed from that standpoint so many failings requiring severe moral treatment to cure them. Such an attitude towards childhood has happily disappeared from home education and from the secondary school; it survives in conservative nooks and corners, possibly in the elementary school.

Of harsh treatment of children in any shape or form the Edgeworths cannot be suspected. One pictures the children of the Practical Education—like those of the Edgeworth family itself-happy creatures, brought up in the country, with much opportunity of running wild, of no small importance in their parents eyes, and quite unaccustomed to having their freedom of speech curtailed. High spirits, the love of asking questions, interest in food, in all that concerns the senses and in every sort of active pursuit, all were accepted as perfectly natural in a child. Children and parents stood, to an extent quite unusual, on an equal footing, and the effort of the parents was to make their children as happy as possible. Mr. Edgeworth, writing to his friend Dr. Darwin, could say of his own family, "I do not think one tear per month is shed in this house, nor the voice of reproof heard, nor the hand of restraint felt."

One flaw from a modern standpoint is, however, apparent, if not so obviously in the Practical Education, vet strikingly in the Early Lessons and the Tales, the habit of basing a moral lesson on every available incident of daily life. Such a practice seems to have been by no means confined to the Edgeworths, vet it has come to mean to later generations a feature peculiar to their system of education. For, while during the Puritan ascendency religious training had been regarded as of unequalled importance, it had by our period, certain quarters only excepted, given place to a type of moral training as strict as it was unremittingly practised. The rationalistic temper of the eighteenth century made such a change inevitable. Postulate a belief in the supremacy of the human reason and the perfectibility of the individual, add to it a genuine desire for progress, and the conditions likely to produce an intensely moralistic education are complete.

" Hardening."

It is easy to discern the influence of Locke on the education of the period, and especially on moral training. One feature of the latter is directly traceable to him—though it reached eighteenth century England with a strong French flavour, through the medium of Rousseau—the belief in the beneficial effects of hardening. Probably the backward state of the medical knowledge of the time was as accountable for some aspects of the Spartan treatment meted out to children as it had been for Locke's advocacy of wet feet. It at least speaks for the robustness of the constitutions of the victims, that they survived such remedial measures as tar-water taken internally to cure weakness of the eyes, and hanging by the neck to increase

height. Yet the use by girls of backboards, stocks and iron collars during lesson time was intended, in some cases at least, to have a moral as well as a physical effect—that of curbing excessive volatility of temperament.²

Apart from these methods, artificially arranged tests of endurance, which are reminiscent of nothing so much as the practical jokes of school-boys, seem to have been confined to the more ardent disciples of Rousseau. To take but one instance, the truth of which, were it not that Thomas Day's eccentricities are amply vouched for in other quarters, would be hard to credit. Mrs. Gaskell, in her Life of Charlotte Bronti', tells how an aunt of hers, an orphan, had the misfortune to be adopted by a follower of Day. All other tests of fortitude having failed to evoke a tremor—("dressed-up ghosts had become common, and she did not care for them")—she was, when on alternate days her place in the carriage during the daily airing had been taken by the favourite dog, tossed in a blanket at home, her affright at the tossing in itself affording sufficient evidence of its snitability as a specific for "hardening her nerves "

Suspicion of Dolls and of the Fairy-tale.

Mr. Edgeworth even in the days when his enthusiasm for Rousseau was at its height, seems never to have trans-

¹ In Miss Edgeworth's own case. See the various Lives.

² See the *Diary of Mrs. Sherwood*. The backboards and collars were intended to secure erectness of figure, the "stocks" well turned out toes. Dr. Darwin in his *Plan for the Conduct of Female Education in Boarding Schools* (1797), in a chapter on "Care of the Shape," advises great caution in the use of such instruments. He recommends, however, swinging frequently for a short time by the head, with loose dress, to counteract a tendency to curvature,

gressed in such directions, further than in dressing his son in scanty attire, and allowing him to run wild, and possibly in supplying him with coarse food. Yet a lingering suspicion of certain natural desires, which was probably a Puritan survival, though reinforced by Revolutionary ideas of simplicity, is very occasionally apparent, as in Miss Edgeworth's distrust of play with doll's houses.1 Imaginative literature also falls under the ban. Dr. Johnson had hazarded the opinion that babies do not like to hear stories of babies like themselves; that they require to have their imaginations raised by tales of giants and fairies, and eastles and enchantments. To which our authors reply, "But why should the mind be filled with fantastic visions, instead of useful knowledge? Why should so much valuable time be lost? Why should we vitiate their taste, and spoil their appetite, by suffering them to feed upon sweetmeats?" Even "supposing that they do prefer such tales, is this a reason why they should be indulged in reading them? "?

Fortitude and self-control were still considered prime

¹ It is hard in these days of simplicity of dress, at least for children, to realise the genuineness of such scruples. Yet they survived to a much later date. Witness the story of Mr. Brontë and the little coloured boots, which the old nurse had runmaged out for her charges to wear after an expedition on the moors. "When the children came back, the boots were nowhere to be found; only a very strong odour of burnt leather was perceived. Mr. Brontë had come in and seen them; they were too gay and luxurious for his children, and would foster a love of dress; so he had put them into the fire."

² In *The Little Female Academy* (second edition, 1749), probably the work of Sarah Fielding, sister of the novelist, the same fear of overmuch fairy tale is apparent. Yet two or three tales have been allowed to pass into the text. Mrs. Sherwood, in her very much doctored edition of the book published fully fifty years later, will only incorporate one.

virtues and special means were invented to encourage them. Miss Edgeworth commends, as giving practice in restraint, the test described by Madame de Genlis in Adète et Théodore. Théodore is given when about seven years old a box of sugar-plums to take care of, "to teach him to command his passions." He stands the test and shows the untouched treasure to his mother from time to time with great self-complacency. Similar tests found their way later into the earliest Infant Schools, where fruit and flower-gardens were laid out round the school expressly in order to teach restraint and respect for property.

The Live and Learn Principle.

The effort to avoid lecturing children upon morality had probably led to the reliance which was placed at this period upon what one might call "the live and learn principle "—a principle based on the extension to children of the scope of the proverb, Experience teaches fools. While closely akin to the "discipline of natural consequences," this principle had admitted in the case of Rousseau, Madame de Genlis and others, of some cooking of experiences, as in the incident of the melon-seed in the Emile. Here again the Edgeworths find themselves obliged to raise a dissentient voice. There must be no teaching of "truth by falsehood," "no moral delusions; no artificial course of experience; no plots laid by parents to make out the truth; no listening fathers, mothers, or governesses; no pretended confidence or perfidious "Honesty is the best policy must be the maxim in education, as well as in all the other affairs of life."

Yet in spite of so strong a protest, moral instruction by artificial experiences was a device not unknown in Miss Edgeworth's Tales, which were expressly intended to illustrate the principles of the Practical Education. the well-known story of Rosamond and the Purple Jar. Rosamond is a child, seven years old, who when out with her mother takes a fancy to one of the large coloured jars commonly displayed in chemists' windows. Opportunely for her own moral improvement she is wearing at the time a pair of shoes with holes in them. A twentieth century mother would have seen no intimate connection between the shoes and the coveted jar, would have pointed out the uselessness of the latter, and revealed the secret of its colour. Not so the mother of Resamond: she will not let the matter drop, and finally the purple jar is offered as an alternative to a new pair of shoes. One can see that she hapes the foolish choice will be made and the lesson learned. Resamond falls into the trap, decides that her shoes "are not so very, very bad" and chooses the purple jar. The discount is advious. The magic jar when sent home revealed itself to Resamond as nothing but a plain white glass far, filled with an unattractive fluid: and "every day her shoes grew worse and worse, till at last she could neither run, dan w. jump, nor walk in them," and the tragedy is complete when a long-cherished expedition must be abandoned for lack of suitable shoes. What matter, so long as Resamond be brought to exclaim, as she does at the end of the tale. "I am sure-no, not quite sure-but I hope I shall be wiser another time." Sometimes more elaborate apparatus is employed to provide the necessary discipline—as when Rosamond is bidden to look at what she believes to be "two nice ripe purple plums." On closer examination she touches and smells them, and, her self-confidence -haken by the purple jar incident, discovers that one of them is "a stone painted to look like a plum."

By the end of the series of little tales of which she is the heroine, Rosamond's education is complete. She has been cured of such miscellaneous faults as losing her needle, thinking things are what they seem, making excuses, rising late, preferring present to future pleasures and losing her temper.

Rewards and Punishments.

The Edgeworths' doctrine of rewards and punishments combines the views of Locke and Rousseau. Rewards and punishments are after the earliest years to be the natural consequences of action. At first the educator has merely to take care to associate pain with wrong-doing, pleasure with well-doing, and to secure that the association is effected, "not only immediately but repeatedly and uniformly." When however the child begins to be able to reason, the inevitable connection beween punishment and wrong-doing is to be explained, and he is to be left to take the consequences of his action. "The natural consequence of speaking the truth is the being believed: the natural consequence of falsehood is the loss of truth and confidence: the natural consequence of all the useful virtues is esteem, of all the amiable virtues love, of each of the prudential virtues some peculiar advantage to their possessor. But plum pudding is not the appropriate reward of truth, nor is the loss of it the natural or necessary consequence of falsehood." All that can be done to lessen the punishment without lessening its efficacy must be done, and once it is over, immediate restoration to favour should follow. "How careful should we be never to chain children to their dead faults!" As with punishment, so in the case of rewards. A child is content with small pleasures and need not be tempted with extraneous rewards, where the activity is in itself pleasurable. Where pleasure is not the accompaniment of right action, the esteem and approbation of the parent must take its place.

On this point also there is some inconsistency between the theory of the *Practical Education* and its application in the *Tales*. In the latter not only is praise of welldoing freely distributed, but it is frequently accompanied by substantial reward.

Frank, who by speaking the truth has saved dog Trusty from a beating for spilling the milk, is given the dog for his own—Charles, who has defended the orange-man's baskets, has his cap filled with "fine China oranges"—Simple Susan, the model girl of the village, is rewarded with a golden guinea by the ladies from the Hall, because she sets "an example of industry and good conduct." Yet all this is in strict conformity with the code of the moral tale of the period, more especially of Berquin's Ami des Enjans.

As regards the actual training of the child, the maxims laid down in the Practical Education for the cultivation of the "nursery virtues" are often excellent. Occasions for ill humoun are to be avoided as much as possible, so that habits of ill humour may not be contracted. All petty irritations like those of restricted dress must be banished. Small inconveniences which are unavoidable the child must learn to bear with equanimity, but they should never be invented in order to inure to hardship. and so improve the temper. "Concerted trials of temper" such as that invented by the gentleman who was in the habit of proposing to "his three comely daughters" a particularly pleasant visit, and then "when the coach was bespoke and the young ladies ready to take their seats" declining to allow them to go, are expressly repudiated. They are more apt to sour than to secure equanimity of temper. Again Rousseau is right in advising that a child should never be asked to incriminate himself. Accidents should be passed over without enquiry. "Because a glass is broken we need not spoil the child." Temperament and disposition must be studied, in order that each child may be suitably treated. The timid child, the "saunterer," the vivacious, the obstinate child must not be handled alike.

The Acquisition of Moral Habits.

The procedure in the acquisition of any moral habit is always the same:—an early stage when associations of pleasure are relied on to make the action seem desirable, the hardening into habit, and the last stage when all conduct comes under the control of reason. Obedience, for example, is at first to be demanded only when it is pleasant: it will thus become a habit. But there is no reason, notwithstanding Rousseau, why the child should be kept in ignorance of the fact that he is obeying the will of another, and when children begin to reason, they must be convinced that it is to their advantage to obey.

The approbation of his elders is one of the chief aids in rendering right action pleasurable to a child. Yet praise must not be given in "too large and lavish quantities," otherwise it will lose its effect. "Whenever praise produces the intoxication of vanity, it is hurtful: whenever the appearances of vanity diminish in consequence of praise, we may be satisfied that it does good."

The somewhat self-conscious type of character approved by the Edgeworths is so far explained by the recommendation that a child be allowed, at least in his own family, to voice his self-complacency when he has acted aright and has been praised. "We must not be in haste to restrain, lest we teach hypocrisy, instead of strength of mind or real humility." The remedy is gradually to show that esteem is greater where vanity is absent, and to endeavour to replace the weakness of vanity by a modest confidence in self, and genuine self-respect.

The final stage in moral training is reached when the child himself begins consciously to undertake the task of his own moral improvement, and it is to this point that he must be brought as early as possible. As he learns the properties of bodies in the physical world by experiment, so must he learn in the sphere of morals. He must be allowed, even when very young, to choose for himself about every trifle which is interesting to childhood. We should steadily make them (children) abide by their choice, even where it is a foolish one, but call attention to its result as producing happiness or the reverse. Thus prudence, i.e. "moral reasoning, and the habit of acting in consequence of the conviction of judgment," is learned.

The Social Virtues.

It is perhaps hardly to be expected that so pronounced an individualist as Mr. Edgeworth will have much to say on the cultivation of the social virtues, and indeed the Essay devoted to the subject, (that on Sympathy and Sensibility), is one of the least satisfactory in the book. It has already been noticed that he to some extent denies the socialising influences of the family. "We call the society of children, society in miniature," but "the proportions of the miniature are so much altered, that it is by no means an accurate resemblance of that which exists in the civilised world." Self-interest being the strongest motive with young children, conflicting interests lead to quarrelling, and "tyranny and injustice" of the stronger over the weaker are the result. Hence the dictum that "young children should be kept as under at all times and in all situations,

in which it is necessary or probable that their appetites and passions should be in direct competition."

Again the sympathy which children feel for one another may only do harm. Unless they can associate with well-educated companions, they are better without companions at all. "It is, surely, far more prudent to let children feel a little *ennui* from the want of occupation and of company, than to purchase for them the juvenile pleasures of society at the expense of their future happiness."

In addition to the above reasons, such partial separation of the children of the same family from one another would almost seem to be necessitated by the early age at which, in Mr. Edgeworth's opinion, "professional education" was to be begun. He expressly disclaims, however, in 1812, responsibility for the doctrine that children belonging to one family should be taught different morality and religion. Indeed it would seem that his views have by this time undergone considerable change, for he records his belief in the efficacy of the school even at the age when he had formerly pronounced home education all-important. Indeed, as his daughter records in The Memoirs, in the final form taken by his educational theory isolation of children from one another found no place at all.

Charge of Utilitarianism.

The charge most frequently levelled against the morality of the Edgeworths was that of its utilitarianism. It was criticised as "a system of manners regulated by prudence and a sense of propriety, having little connection with the heart, and rarely leading to any difficult or important efforts of virtue." The last clause of the charge may be

¹ Preface to the Second Edition of Professional Education.

² Quarterly Review, 1809.

dismissed at once, as "difficult and important efforts of virtue" can hardly be expected of children. But the rest of the criticism is not without point. There is a coldness, an element of calculation in the moral teaching, especially of the Tales, which is repellent to a modern age, particularly where it concerns children, and this spirit of calculation as to the results of action and absence of emotional element seem to have been essential features of that form of rationalistic morality which Mr. Edgeworth affected.

As to its utilitarianism—for the clearest statement of the Edgeworths' views as to moral values we must look to the tale already quoted, rather than to the *Practical* Education.

Rosamond and her brother and sister are discussing in an unchildlike manner which are the most important virtues, and endeavouring to arrange them, so to speak, in order of merit. Their father is appealed to for help, and replies thus: "The most useful, I think, should come first, and you might, I believe, arrange them all by their degrees of usefulness or utility." Appealed to once more as to how the most useful virtue is to be determined, he replies, "We must know what contributes most to the happiness of the greatest number of people, and for the greatest length of time." This is frankly utilitarianism, but it is utilitarianism of the better sort. And indeed the question suggests itself, must not the morality of young children, if it be of a wholesome order, of necessity be coloured by utilitarianism? The consequences of action both to oneself and others must always be more important than the motives leading to action in a childish code of morals, unless introspection of a very unchildlike sort is to be encouraged. The Edgeworths' heroes and heroines were urged to study the consequences of their actions, as producing happiness or the reverse; yet such scrutiny of conduct was at least less harmful than the morbid probing into motive characteristic of the school of Mrs. Sherwood.¹

Direct Moral Instruction.

Apart from the question of ethical values, the moral instruction itself demands attention in these days of agitation for a greater amount of direct moral teaching in schools. Not even an extremist of the present day would, we venture to think, go the length of advocating so unremitting an obtrusion of moral issues upon children as did the Edgeworths and their contemporaries. Yet since the trend of a policy is often most easily discoverable in its extreme form, consideration of the moral instruction of the eighteenth century may well shed light on the proposals for its revival in our own day.

That such an excess of moral teaching was at that time considered essential seems to point to the assumption that the natural instincts of a child are perverted, so that evil is more attractive to him than good—that the force of example is of little account in the development of character—that virtues such as truth, honesty and fair dealing in

While criticising the moral training advocated by the Edgeworths in many of its details, the author has not ventured to do more than touch upon the larger question involved—that of their conception of the nature of the ethical end itself. The arguments for and against utilitarianism as a system of ethics have long ceased to awaken general interest: they have certainly no place here. The case against the morality of the Edgeworths has been stated by Miss Hodgson in her *Rationalist English Educators* in the strongest possible terms. On one point at least she hardly does them justice. Granted that their conception of the ethical ideal is not the highest imaginable, there can at all events be no question that the moral aspect of life was to them of supreme importance, and in this fact alone is surely involved the recognition by them of a higher law than that of utility.

their most elementary form cannot safely be left to the working of that decent feeling which is inherited by most children born into good homes. Yet the Edgeworths were far from such beliefs, and endeavour to reduce direct moral instruction to a minimum. Example is to count for much in the building up of good habits. Constant intercourse of children with their parents, the sharing of occupations and recreations, will save from many minor faults. They seem, notwithstanding, to have considered some direct instruction in morals indispensable, as in the tests already alluded to, the founding of conversational lessons on incidents and impressions of character in real life, and the counterpart of these in fiction. The first need no discussion: they were of the nature of an experiment, and seem never to have bulked largely in the moral training.

The habit of using the experiences of daily life as a sort of moral object lesson is one which home educators have seldom been able to resist. It may indeed be useful enough in the family, if employed sparingly, and chiefly in cases of common experience, as, e.g., where several children have been guilty of the same fault. It has its place even in the school under similar circumstances and if yet more sparingly employed. It was however carried to quite an illegitimate extent by the Edgeworths in the Tales, when the failings of one child or of some common acquaintance were openly discussed and used to point a moral to the rest.

But the chief objection to such methods, besides the ease with which they can be misapplied, holds good also of that favourite instrument in the hand of the eighteenth century schoolroom moralist—the moral tale itself. It was assumed, and is still assumed by all who adopt it, that the mere presentation of examples of virtue has, as

its inevitable corollary, the doing of it. It is taken for granted that such examples have in themselves dynamic quality in the direction of good, whereas experience would rather lead one to believe that excessive insistence on the moral aspect of life is capable, in the case of a child, of leading to revolt. Instances of the action of contrary suggestion following upon moral teaching are not recorded by the Edgeworths, yet it is hardly possible that such did not exist. And if in those days, how much more so in ours, when the dividing line between childhood and manhood is more sharply drawn, and simpler and healthier ideals for both are prevalent?

¹This was precisely Mr. Edgeworth's position (see *Memoirs*, Vol. II., p. 401). It is shared by Herbartians.

CHAPTER VII.

THE MORAL TALES.

Origin and Characteristics of the Moral Tale.

Only one volume of Miss Edgeworth's, strictly speaking, bears the title Moral Tales: the name is, however, equally applicable to all her books for children including Early Lessons, which is intended for very young readers.\(^1\) All are written with a moral purpose, usually a very obvious one.

The origin of the "edifying tale of real life" has been traced back to the Morality Play, which, after passing through various forms in comedy and novel, finally took an educational turn and appeared in the schoolroom. And indeed such an origin may well be suspected. The uncompromising moral contrasts of these tales were such as would have appealed to the imagination of the people, no less than to that of children. Open the Early Lessons and as sub-titles of the first two stories appear—"The Liar and the Boy of Truth," "The Honest Boy and the Thief." It is the sharp contrast between good and evil of the ballad, the opposition of the Virtue and the Vice of the Morality. There are no colours in the authors' paint-box save black and white,—half-tones find no place in the characterisation of the moral tale.

The distribution of rewards and punishments is of the

i The Parent's Assistant, The Early Lessons, The Moral Tales, and The Popular Tales chiefly concern us here.

[·] Elton, A Survey of Eighteenth Century Literature, Vol. I., p. 179.

same popular order. The dire fate that overtakes the evildoer—even though his wrong-doing be of the most venial sort, such as cutting a piece of string instead of untying it—is of the nature of a Nemesis.

Moral Tales of the Period.

The conditions likely to favour the popularity of the moral tale as an educational instrument in the later eighteenth century have been already alluded to. In estimating them there must however be taken into account, what with the Edgeworths was bound to have especial weight, its popularity in French educational circles. Madame de Genlis' Tales of the Castle, (translated in 1785). and Theatre of Education, a volume of short moral plays. were well-known and exceedingly popular in England. The former, a series of highly didactic tales, supposed to be told on succeeding evenings, by a certain Marquise who has left Paris with her children to spend some months at her Château in Burgundy, may possibly have suggested to Miss Edgeworth the form taken by her own stories for children. We have the same disciplinary course of events, the same humanitarian incidents, the same introduction of facts of science and history. Yet the English stories do not suffer by comparison with those of the French author. They are healthier in tone, more interesting in plot, and distinctly superior in literary quality. Above all they are free from the artificiality of manner and sentiment which mar the French tales.

Equally popular with Madame de Genlis' tales was

¹ The titles of some of the stories are:—" Delphine, or the Fortunate Girl,"—the story of a spoiled consumptive child who was sent to pass some months in a cowhouse, for the good of her health,—"The Heroism of Attachment," "Eglantine, or Indolence Reformed," etc.

Berquin's Ami des Enfans, first published in English translation in 1787, in which we find the typical short moral tale. Indeed the aim of all such tales is well stated in the words of Berquin's Preface.\footnote{\text{"}} "The double object" which the book has in view is " to amuse children and at the same time to incline them naturally to Virtue, by always presenting it to them under the most amiable form." But there was an additional object—that of supplying a counterblast to the fairy tale. The little stories, dialogues and poems were intended to have a realistic flavour, which should differentiate them entirely from "those extravagant fictions, those romantic and marvellous tales, which have so long contributed to lead the imaginations of children astray." The titles sufficiently reveal the subject-matter of the stories: - "The Proper Use of Time." -"Interested Kindness,"-" Obligingness and Complaisance,"—"The Little Gamblers,"—"The Three Cakes," (the well-known story of three boys, each of whom gets a cake,the first eats his, the second keeps his and eats it at his leisure, the third gives his away). The book seems to have been popular in this country until well past the middle of the nineteenth century.

Berquin's tales are not all from his own pen: he freely incorporated suitable stories from any available source: they are shorter, and by no means possessed of the same literary merit as Miss Edgeworth's. Though admired by the Edgeworths, the weak points of the book, as well as of much of the children's literature of the day, are criticised in the *Practical Education*. They well observe that "Examples to deter children from faults to which they have no propensity may be useless, and may be dangerous."

⁴ Berquin, *The Children's Friend*, second edition, 1788. Many of Berquin's tales were translations from the German.

"Martin, who throws squibs at people in the street, who fastens rabbit tails behind their backs, who fishes for their wigs, who sticks up pins in his friends' chairs, who carries a hideous mask to frighten little children, and who is himself frightened into repentance by a spectre with a speakingtrumpet, is an objectionable, though an excellent dramatic character." Imitation is too strong an instinct in children to make it wise to run the risk of telling such stories. The sentimentality of many of Berquin's tales is also condemned. "All the simplicity of youth is gone the moment children perceive that they are extolled for the expression of fine feelings and fine sentiments." Amply justified though these criticisms are, they are by no means always inapplicable to some of Miss Edgeworth's own tales.

In the Edgeworth household itself a strict censorship was exercised on all books likely to be read by the children. "Pen, pencil and scissors" were stringently applied, and even the ages at which individual stories might be con-

sidered suitable reading were marked against them.

Of one of the most popular of moral tales, the Sandford and Merton of Thomas Day, little need be said. The first part of the book was published in 1783, and the remainder in succeeding years till its completion in 1789. It was an Emile in English, and was originally intended to be incorporated as a short story in Miss Edgeworth's Harry and Lucy. Popular though the book was with several generations of children, it undoubtedly owed its vogue to the abundance of incident in it, rather than to the didactic strain running through it.

Characteristics of Miss Edgeworth's Tales.

Such were the best examples of the moral tale in circulation in England when Miss Edgeworth first began to write her stories, which were to serve the double purpose of providing suitable amusement for young readers and of popularising the principles laid down in the *Practical Education*. In order that the point might not be lost, each little collection of tales was furnished with a preface by Mr. Edgeworth himself, in which the meral purpose of each story was detailed. It has often been hinted, and that by competent authorities, that the amount of moral teaching pressed into Miss Edgeworth's work varied according to the amount of revision and supervision exercised over it by her father. That being so, it would appear that the *Early Lessons* owed more to Mr. Edgeworth than the more entertaining *Parent's Assistant*.

The stories were many of them founded on incidents in the Edgeworth family itself or on those supplied by friends. Thus Miss Edgeworth, writing to her cousin Miss Ruxton in 1797, begs for copy: "Any good anecdotes from the age of 5 to 15, good latitude and longitude, will suit me; and if you can tell me any pleasing misfortunes of emigrants, so much the better." The characters were often persons with whom she had herself been acquainted—Simple Susan, the heroine of the story which won praise from Scott, was sister of Peggy Langam, a poor Irish woman, and a kind of pensioner of the Edgeworth family. But more frequently still it is the little troupe formed by the children of the Edgeworth family itself "who play their parts in fancy names and dresses in Miss Edgeworth's stories." Mr. Edgeworth himself appears in many guises

² Anne Thackeray Ritchie, Preface to The Parent's Assistant, Macmillan's edition.

Enrig Lessons was begun in 1778 by Mr. Edgeworth and Mrs. Honora Edgeworth as a little reading-book to come after Mrs. Barbauld's Lessons, and was intended to show parents how "some of the elements of science and literature" might be taught, "without wearying the pupil's attention." After lying for twenty years it was handed over to Maria to finish. (Memoirs, Vol. II.)

—in the Mr. Gresham of Waste Not, Want Not, the Mr. Spencer of the False Key, the Mr. Montagu of the Mimic. Indeed, even in the exemplary Frank of the Early Lessons a recent writer has seen no less a personage than Mr. Edgeworth in his youthful days, and in the erring Rosamond, his famous daughter.

Their Moral Tendency.

The moral key-note of each tale is already struck in the title, as in Lazy Lawrence, Forgive and Forget, Waste Not, Want Not. Where that is not the case, as has been mentioned, Mr. Edgeworth's prefaces supplied the lack. In the Mimic and the Birthday Present the dangers which may arise in education from a bad servant or a common acquaintance are set forth—in Tarlton and Loreit the evils of too great complaisance, and so on. It is in the majority of cases only the most homely and least subtle virtues and vices which find illustration—honesty, good-temper, diligence, cheerfulness, truthfulness, prudence and their opposites.

Only in later life, and especially some years after her father's death, does Miss Edgeworth seem seriously to have considered the advisability of diminishing, or at least concealing, the excessively moral tendency of her books. She had discussed the matter with Scott, apparently on his visit to Edgeworthstown in 1825, remarking, "It is difficult to introduce the moral without displeasing the reader." To which Scott had replied, "The rats won't go into the trap, if they smell the hand of the rat-catcher." Yet while reference was evidently to the novels alone, this was equally true of the books for children. It took, in the case of the Early Lessons, but a very small nibble on the part of the little human "rat" to detect the existence of the trap. Thus on one of the first pages of Little Dog

Trusty we stumble almost at once on this unimpeachable moral. "Little boys, Ladvise you never to be afraid to tell the truth; never say, 'Stay a minute,' and 'Stay a little longer,' but run directly and tell of what you have done that is wrong." Present-day writers, judging by such examples, have too hastily concluded that Miss Edgeworth's tales cannot be pleasing to children. Yet one must not judge them entirely by modern standards. They were written for the Georgian child, to whom the modern story-book would have brought only foreign ideas in an uncomfortably unfamiliar form. Of the popularity of Miss Edgeworth's tales in her own day and for long after there is ample evidence. Even supposing the moral tone was displeasing to the child-reader and this remains to be proved it was merely a question of relative values. There are children who will take a powder gladly, for the sake of the jam used to disguise it, and with the child of Miss Edgeworth's day it must often have been a Hobson's choice of story with moral, or no story at all,

Their Charm for Children

But many of the Tales need no apology, even for the favour of the sophisticated modern child. Miss Edgeworth possessed to an unusual degree the essential qualification of the true story-teller, knowledge of and sympathy with her audience, and, apart from the inevitable moral in her stories, the appeal to the taste of children is constant and effective. It has already been pointed out that the purpose of the writer was to provide an autidote to the desire for overmuch fairy-tale. She did so by retaining the fairy-tale element in a readistic atmosphere.

The drab virtues of truth and honesty and thrift, which in the experience of most children reap no visible reward, meet with invariable and delightful recognition in the Tales, and, equally satisfactory, falsehood and theft and waste with as unequivocal punishment. Things do not happen as in real life. The cord which Hal has cut from the parcel instead of untying it, is a magic cord in all but name: how else could it have looped and twined itself round the banisters so opportunely as to sprain little Patty's ankle and so prove the wasteful boy's undoing?

The needy old women, the poor but industrious little girls always waiting round the corner to receive the coin which the generous and thrifty boy has not spent on tarts, are no more real than is Cinderella's fairy godmother. They are introduced in order to supply the touchstone of character so necessary to the fairy-tale. But what matter, fairy-tale or no, so the moral be driven home and the reader pleased?

Again, the little people in the Tales are as important a factor in their parents' lives as are the children of a modern American household. Most of the heroes and heroines of *The Parent's Assistant* are not yet in their teens, yet Mary, the eldest of the "Little Orphans," makes a living for herself and her three brothers and sisters; Jem, the widow's son, can earn two guineas to save Lightfoot from being sold; Simple Susan can bake the bread for her sick mother, mend the linen and teach her little brothers to read. In many stories they save the situation for a whole family, where no one else can do so—they outwit the crafty lawyer, save the "great house" from burglary, reconcile long-standing enmities, and lay bare imposture.

But it is vain to attempt to analyse the charm which Miss Edgeworth's tales must always have for children. Apart from their literary excellence, the pictures of country life, the place given in them to birds, animals and flowers, the numerous sequels to the lives of favourite heroes and heroines, like Rosamond and Harry and Lucy, are in themselves passports to the affection of children.

It would be interesting, were it possible, to investigate the part which they have played in the lives of children in the past—from John Ruskin, one of whose earliest literary efforts it was to write a conclusion to Harry and Lucy, and John Stuart Mill, amongst whose few storybooks an odd volume of the Tales found a place, to the nameless little girl who is said to have rushed up to Miss Edgeworth at a crowded party from the obscurity of a corner, merely to inform her, "I like Simple Susan' best."

"Now and again," writes Anne Thackeray of her own childhood, "came little cousins or friends to share our games, but day by day, constant and unchanging, ever to be relied upon, smiled our most loyable and friendly companions -Simple Susau, lame Jervas, Talbot, the dear little Merchants, Jem the widow's son with his arms round old Lightfoot's neck, the generous Ben, with his whip-cord and his useful proverb of 'Waste not, want not'-all of these were in the window-corner waiting our pleasure." First introduced to them, as she tells us, by her father, when "as a very little girl she suffered for a short time from some inflammation of the eyes," "an odd, confused impression still remains in the listener's mind to this day of Naples, Vesuvius, pink and white sugar-plums-of a darkened room, of a lonely country-house in Belgium, of a sloping garden full of flowers outside the shutters, of the back of a big sota covered with vellow velvet, and of her father's voice reading on and on."

The Tales as Illustrating "Practical Education" Doctrines.

There now only remains to be considered one other aspect of the Tales,—viz., their function as directly illustrative of the Practical Education.—Of the Early Lessons

enough has already been said. However it may be with children, the book impresses the present-day adult reader as little more than the reading-book it set out originally to be. Intended to introduce children pleasantly to some elementary facts of science, it would probably be followed, if not by one of its many sequels, by such a book as Mrs. Marcet's Conversations on Chemistry or her Conversations on Natural Philosophy.

Of the volumes of tales of entertainment, after the Popular Tales, to the majority of readers The Parent's Assistant is probably by far the most attractive, and that in spite of its enigmatical and repellent title. Christened by her father The Parent's Friend, the book was, Miss Edgeworth tells us. "degraded" by the publisher into The Parent's Assistant, a name which she herself particularly disliked because of its associations with an old arithmetic book of similar title- The Tutor's Assistant. But it need hardly be said that the book possesses attraction only in so far as its didactic purpose is forgotten. The moral strain running through it it is unfortunately impossible to ignore, but the references to the dogmas of Practical Education disturb the progress of the stories so little, and are, even on closer examination. so evidently extraneous to the plot, that they may be easily passed over. On the child-reader they would probably make no impression whatsoever. Thus in The Mimic we are not detained for a moment by the description of Mr. and Mrs. Montague's excellent system of educating their family, but become at once engrossed in the conversation of Mrs. Theresa Tattle and the story of Frederick's impersonation of the little chimney-sweep.

But whilst this process of neglect of unpalatable matter is so easy in *The Parent's Assistant* and the *Popular Tales* as to go on almost unconsciously, with the *Moral Tales*

it is very different. Practical Education doctrine has so passed into the warp and woof of them all, with perhaps the exception of one or two, that to overlook it is impossible. Indeed from the story of the "Good French Governess" alone it would not be difficult to re-construct the main outlines of the Essays on Practical Education. Though it cannot on that account claim to afford much entertainment as a story, as an appendix to the Essays the tale is not without interest. The "rational tov-shop" to which Madame de Rosier takes her voung charges has "been lately opened under the direction of an ingenious gentleman, who had employed proper workmen to execute rational toys for the rising generation." It is therefore found to contain no dolls, soldiers, drums, whips, horses, phaetons nor coaches, but such things as earts, wheelbarrows, gardening-tools and seeds, a printing-press, a small loom for weaving, a collapsible silk balloon on which maps may be drawn. The children are also taken to visit the carpenter's slop, the coachmaker's, the cooper's, the turner's, the cabinetmaker's; they are given reliable prints of machines and architecture to examine on wet days; they are taught arithmetic and reading on rational lines. We are introduced to a Miss Fanshaw who has undergone "all the ordinary and extraordinary tortures of backboards, collars, stocks, dumb-bells," etc., and who has been taught only empty accomplishments. In short, we have in this tale a resume of almost all the points emphasised in the Practical Education, together with a picture of the ideal governess as the Edgeworths conceived of her

And so with others of the Moral Toles: the ideal governess appears again in the thin disguise of the good aunt in the tale of that name,—the bad governess in "Mademoiselle Panache,"—the reformation of the priggish "For-

rester" is the subject of one tale, that of the sentimental "Angelina" of another. It is difficult to read with equanimity. Yet from time to time—in one of the tales, "Angelina," very frequently—the dreary cloud of moralising lifts for a moment, giving glimpses of sunny humour and happy characterisation which help to carry us over long wastes of didacticism, and revealing to us what Miss Edgeworth's stories might have been had they remained completely untouched by her father's critical pencil.

CHAPTER VIII.

"LETTERS FOR LITERARY LADIES."

THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN.

Origin of the Book.

It was in 1795 that Maria Edgeworth published her first book, Letters for Literary Ladies, and with it took her place - a very modest and retiring one—among the pioneers of the movement in favour of the higher education of women. True, the book owed much to her father: it is unimpressive in style and old-fashioned in form, and seems to have attracted little notice at the time of its publication. Yet its arguments are sound, and taken along with certain passages in the Practical Education it sets forth a plea for reform in women's education which is characteristic of the conservative advance party of the time. Miss Edgeworth herself tells in The Memoirs the story of how the book originated. It will be remembered that her first essay into the world of literature had been by a translation of Mdme de Genlis' Adèle et Théodore, which was never published, owing to the preparation of another translation. Mr. Day, hearing of the matter from his friend Mr. Edgeworth, and having an ardent dislike of learned women, could not refrain from a letter of congratulation on the occasion, in which he gave utterance to " an elequent philippic against female authorship."

friend replied with an equally eloquent defence of women writers. The letters themselves were evidently destroyed, but so deep was the impression made by them on the mind of Miss Edgeworth, then but a girl, that nearly ten years later she worked up her recollections of the arguments used into a book with the above title.

The Education of Women in the Eighteenth Century.

The education of women had in the seventeenth century suffered a marked decline from Renaissance ideals. The race of learned women, to which the daughters of Sir Thomas More and the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth had belonged, seems to have become all but extinct in that period of political conflict and civil war. Yet there were to be found some to lament the fact, and to agitate for a revival of a classical education for women. Proposals like that of Mary Astell in 1694, to found a college for women. seem, like those of Mrs. Makin before her, to have led to nothing. Defoe, while making similar proposals, described the education of the middle-class woman of his own day with some contempt. "Their youth is spent to teach them to stitch and sew, or make bawbles; they are taught to read aloud, indeed, and perhaps to write their names or so; that is the height of a woman's education." 1 Things can have been little better even fifty years later. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, writing in 1752 to the Countess of Bute, complains that "we are educated in the grossest ignorance and no art omitted to stifle our natural reason; if some few get above their nurse's instructions, our knowledge must rest concealed and be as useless to the world as gold in the mine."

¹ Quoted, Cambridge History of English Literature, Vol. IX., Adamson, "Education," p. 404.

If such were the case as regards private education, the boarding-school was no better and did not afford the opportunities of surreptitiously acquiring knowledge which might fall to the lot of the girl educated at home. Mrs. Teachum's "Little Female Academy" was probably a typical boarding-school of the first half of the eighteenth century. It provided instruction only in "Reading, Writing, and Working and in all proper forms of behaviour."

The founding of the Blue-Stocking Clubs about 1750 marked the disappearance of a purely passive attitude on the part of women towards their own negligibility as a social factor, as well as towards the disregard by their sex of the claims of a higher culture. The fact that the name blue-stocking was at first applied to the members of these Clubs without suspicion of contempt goes to prove that learning in a woman, provided she also possessed social charm, was leniently judged by a critical public. Yet while a knowledge of at least one of the learned languages became the hall-mark of a blue, and was borne by the most famous of these ladies-Mrs Montagu, Mrs. Thrale, Elizabeth Carter, Hannah More, Mrs. Chapone not all had risen to it. In every case, a cultivation of the more purely feminine side of life with its appropriate studies-French, Italian and accomplishments was considered indispensable even by the women themselves. Indeed the skill with which many of the blues managed to combine the old domestic ideal with the new, probably accounted for much of the complacency with which the mid-eighteenth century at first viewed the phenomenon of a woman con-

Boswell's account of the origin of the name is the one usually accepted, viz., that Benjamin Stillingdeet, one of the most honoured members of these clubs, was in the habit of wearing blue stockings at the githerings. Hence the nickname "Bluestockings" was applied to him, afterwards to other members of the Clubs.

fessing herself mistress of nine languages.\(^1\) Elizabeth Carter, the most learned of them all, describes her own very feminine day, \(^1\) watering the pinks and roses, and then \(^1\) sitting down to the spinnet—with as much importance as if I knew how to play... reading, working, writing, twirling the globes, and running up and down stairs to see where everybody is and how they do,\(^1\) and filling up odd moments with painting and knitting.\(^2\)

Views of Knox. Gregory, etc., on the Education of Women.

The ridicule which was subsequently showered upon "the learned lady" was no doubt in many cases deserved. But the root of the antagonism lay deeper, in the general conviction that women, having a different rôle to play in life from men, must receive a different preparation for it, a conviction strengthened by the suspicion, in spite of apparent exceptions, of their inherent incapacity for anything but a superficial education. Yet the latter opinion cannot have been universal—the parents and tutors of the blue-stockings themselves had, except in those cases where knowledge was acquired by stealth, been sufficiently openminded to the new ideas to be willing to experiment. Again Vicesimus Knox in his Essay on a Liberal Education (1781) will not withhold a classical education from a girl if she desire it. "Her mind is certainly as capable of improvement as that of the other sex," he adds. Erasmus Darwin, writing in 1797, admits that in certain cases "ladies may cultivate to any extent the fine arts or the sciences for their amusement or instruction." Even such

⁴ Elizabeth Carter (1717-1806), translator of Epictetus, knew nine languages besides her own.

² Gaussen, A Woman of Wit and Wisdom, 1906.

an old-fashioned moralist as Dr. Gregory, though deducing from his statement very different conclusions as to the nature of their education, is willing to consider women "our companions and equals." But the acceptance of a position of radical inferiority, together with a fear of overstepping the bounds of their proper sphere was, unfortunately, only too common amongst women themselves. Miss Aikin, afterwards Mrs. Barbauld, when asked by Mrs. Montagu to found a woman's college, refused on the ground that "young ladies, who ought only to have such a general tincture of knowledge as to make them agreeable companions to a man of sense and to enable them to find rational entertainment for a solitary hour, should gain these accomplishments in a more quiet and unobserved manner."

Such a view was share I to some extent by Mrs. Chapone. whose Letters on the Improvement of the Mind was for long the most popular treatise on the home education of a girl, and therefore deserves special notice. The letters are addressed to a favourite niece, a girl of fifteen. Plainly the education of the heart in her opinion still outweighs in importance the education of the understanding. is "the basis" of the scheme of education laid down, and the opening letters bear such titles as "On the First Principles of Religion," "On the Regulation of the Heart and Affections," "On the Government of the Temper." Of the ten letters which make up the book, only two deal with literary subjects. The curriculum is to consist of French, Italian, penmanship, arithmetic, history, geography and chronology, music, drawing and dancing. "The abstruse sciences" and the learned languages find no favour. The

⁴ Gregory, A Father's Legacy to his Daughters, p. 6.

[·] Elwood, Literary Ladies of England.

classics may be read only in translation, but a wide know-ledge of French, Italian and English Literature is essential. "These," remarks the author to her correspondent, "are much more than sufficient to store your mind with as many ideas as you will know how to manage." Greater learning in a woman is apt to lead only to pedantry and presumption, to excite "envy in one sex and jealousy in the other." Such was the curriculum laid down for the education of a girl by one of the tearned women of the time, and generally accepted as the ideal for the boarding-school and the home.

At the opposite extreme from the moderate demands of Mrs. Chapone came those of Mary Wollstonecraft in her Vindication of the Rights of Women (1792), with her condemnation of Rousseau's Sophie, and her demand of a thorough education not for ladies alone, but for middle-class girls, whom she believes to be in a more natural and therefore more hopeful state. There is, however, no evidence that her advocacy of co-elucation, of including anatomy and medicine in the curriculum of the school, bore any fruit at the time.

Maria Edgeworth's "Literary Ladies."

Compared with the defiant blast of the Vindication Maria Edgeworth's trumpet gives forth but an uncertain sound. Natural timidity and a conservative upbringing were sufficient to prevent her from associating herself with extremes in any direction. Yet it is conceivable that a woman of such irreproachable femininity, of such devoted attachment to home duties, might accomplish more in her plea for reform at that period, than one of more advanced views whose personality and life made no such concession to popular prejudice. It is thus to the old-fashioned school of Mrs. Chapone, rather than to that of Mary Wollstone-

craft, that Miss Edgeworth belongs. She has the lady alone in mind, she will educate for the home, yet she believes "that it will tend to the happiness of society in general, that women should have their understanding cultivated and enlarged as much as possible."

The arguments for and against higher education are stated with some fulness in the first two Letters for Literary Ladies. While originally expressing the opinions of Thomas Day and Mr. Edgeworth, they evidently reflect the common arguments of the day. Thus the representative of the old school declares "that it has never been my good fortune to meet with a female whose mind, in strength, just proportion and activity, I could compare to that of a sensible man": that he "dislikes that daring spirit in the female sex, which delights to oppose the common opinions of society," and that he is persuaded that women will deteriorate in the process of educating. He goes on to argue that women have neither time nor opportunity for "severe application." That while there are admittedly women of genius, their talent has been exercised only in romances, poetry, and plays, never in "useful literature," and that there are no "female proficients in science." On the other hand, there is no security that the conduct of highly educated women will be governed by reason. They desire public applause more than the happiness that study ean give. Possessed of greater susceptibility than men, they have also less strength of mind, and will therefore be more liable to the "stings of envy." Again a literary woman "will despise the duties of domestic life." She will be weeping over some tale like Desdemona, "at the very time when she should be ordering dinner, or paying the butcher's bill." Finally, even if all these evils are avoidable, time is needed for change in the public attitude to the whole question.

The arguments sound strangely familiar even now after the lapse of more than a century. We recognise them, however, not as darts in the quiver of opponents of the higher education of women, but as the somewhat out-ofdate weapons wielded against a further advance towards the equality of the sexes.

The correspondent into whose mouth the Edgeworths' views are put will argue the question "on no metaphysical grounds." The happiness of women "is so nearly connected with ours, that it seems absurd to manage any argument so as to set the two sexes at variance by vain contention for superiority." He finds no intellectual inferiority in girls, on the contrary they are in some respects superior to boys - "they think and express their thoughts clearly at an age when young men can scarcely write an easy letter upon any common occasion." Granted that girls have less opportunity of cultivating their minds than boys, they have, not being addicted to sport, at least more Instead of marvelling at the little women have accomplished, he is surprised that they have achieved so much, considering the "Turkish ignorance in which they have till lately been kept." If women have hitherto pursued their studies for purposes of ostentation, the abuse of learning is no argument against learning itself. "Love of dominion" is a "common fault of ignorant and ill-educated women." Yet women have not erred from having knowledge, but from not having had experience. Well-educated women, far from despising domestic duties, will hold them in high respect.

He closes with an appeal for no more half-instruction, for a wider curriculum and an all-round culture. In

¹ Professor Adamson, speaking of the period up to 1750, states that "the ideal (in women's education) carefully avoided any appearance of thoroughness outside the domestic arts."

particular, science is indicated as a peculiarly appropriate study for women, especially botany and chemistry, and the latter, if studied by ladies, would produce a reform in cookery. It was but natural that the Edgeworths, who in their day were looked upon as the champions of a modern as opposed to a classical education, should withhold study of the classics in the originals from girls.

Condemnation of Fashionable Accomplishments.

In the Practical Education, the argument against "halfinstruction" is further developed, and the evil of the frenzied pursuit of accomplishments exposed. In her earlier work, Thoughts on the Education of Daughters 1787), Mary Wollstonecraft had condemned "exterior accomplishments," which she defines as "all those accomplishments which merely render the person attractive; and those half-learnt ones which do not improve the mind." Probably the boarding-schools, the popularity of which had greatly increased since the middle of the century, were the chief offenders in this respect. For while those of the older type which still survived provided limited but at least thorough instruction, others of a more ambitious sort were staffed by visiting masters whose sole business it was to purvey the latest thing in accomplishments. One subject the best of them seem to have taught well-French. The intercourse between France and England was never more close than in the latter part of the eighteenth century, nor were opportunities of acquiring French with good accent ever more favourable

It is the motive animating to the acquisition of accomplishments, as well as the manner of it, which Miss Edgeworth condemns. "It is a dangerous fallacy," she writes, "that superficial knowledge is more desirable in women than accurate knowledge."

Parents "speculate on their daughter's accomplishments." They value them as "objects of universal admiration"— "as tickets of admission to fashionable company"—as increasing "a young lady's chance of a prize in the matrimonial lottery "-not as providing suitable occupation for those who must necessarily lead a quiet and domesticated life. They forget that other parents are probably "speculating in the same line: consequently the market is likely to be overstocked, and of course the value of the commodities must fall." The craze for accomplishments has spread to the middle classes, "Every young lady (and every young woman is now a young lady) has some pretensions to accomplishments. She draws a little; or she plays a little; or she speaks French a little. . . . Stop at any good inn on the London roads and you will probably find that the landlady's daughter can shew you some of her own framed drawings, can play a tune upon her spinnet, or support a dialogue in French of a reasonable length, in the customary questions and answers." This alone is enough to cause a decline in the popularity of the fashionable accomplishments of the day, and they in their turn will become as obsolete as "the needlework pictures of Solomon and the queen of Sheba" done by our grandmothers.

Miss Edgeworth lived to see her prophecy fulfilled. By 1816 the intellectual woman was coming into her own. We learn from the Preface to Readings in Poetry that "fashion as well as reason at present decides that the female sex should be cultivated,"—that "conversation is now considered as an accomplishment—a valuable, essential accomplishment. Ladies, even young married ladies are no longer doomed to silence or to frivolous talk of dress or scandal: they may now without danger of being branded as learned ladies, venture to speak of books or

literature. It is even expected, that they should be able to talk of the novel or the poem of the day." Things had gone further by 1822, when Miss Edgeworth writes: "Meantime, fine ladies require that their daughters' governesses should teach Political Economy. 'Do you teach Political Economy?' 'No, but I can learn it.' Oh dear no: if you don't teach it, you won't do for me."

The spirit of competition in the education of girls leads to another evil—the exclusive employment of specialists—and much of what Miss Edgeworth has to say on this subject is equally applicable at the present day. Her argument takes the line that education is wider than instruction, and that one who endeavours to impart merely the technique of his art cannot hope to influence the character of his pupil. In addition, she finds it too commonly the case that those who know most find greatest difficulty in imparting what they know. Wide knowledge of the varieties of the human mind is necessary in order to be able to deal with different temperaments. But the mere teaching of subjects separately which ought to be taught as a whole is prejudicial to general mental culture.

Defence of the Governess.

The conclusion drawn from these premises is that for the first few years the mother is the proper person to undertake her daughter's education, later the governess, and the passage closes with an appeal for the better treatment of governesses. Already the tide has so far turned, and the governess is "no longer treated as an upper servant" but "in well-bred families" as the friend and companion of the family. Yet the emolument attaching to the post is by no means liberal enough, and is not sufficient to induce women to prepare themselves for the profession. On men who have given the best of their life to the education of our nobility, many of the first dignities of the Church are bestowed. No like compensation can be given to women engaged in similar work. Yet £300 a year for the twelve or fourteen years which must be devoted to the education of a young lady would not be too much to enable her governess to put by for the future, so as to spend the rest of her days in comfort.

Miss Edgeworth's statement that even already the position of the governess has much improved can only refer to a limited number of very favourable cases, if her contemporary, Jane Austen, usually considered a faithful delineator of the manners of her time, is to be trusted. In Mrs. Weston, once the governess of Emma Woodhouse, but even after her marriage her most valued friend and confidant, we have the governess in Miss Edgeworth's ideal picture of her. But the relations between teacher and pupil in that case are plainly considered exceptional. Mrs. Elton, the vicar's wife, voices the vulgar opinion in the matter: she confesses that on meeting Mrs. Weston, and knowing her former position, she was "rather astonished to find her so very lady-like," and "quite the gentlewoman."

But it is in the unaffected dismay felt by Jane Fairfax and her friends as the time approaches when she too must assume that subordinate position, that the author's real feeling towards the "profession of governess" is reflected. Jane had resolved to enter "on her path of duty" at the age of twenty-one. "With the fortitude of a devoted novitiate, she had resolved at one-and-twenty to complete the sacrifice, and retire from all the pleasures of life, of rational intercourse, equal society, peace and hope, to

penance and mortification for ever." And it is invariably in this strain that allusion is made to the matter. The fate of governess for a young woman brought up in comfort and refinement is in all seriousness considered the worst of calamities. Charlotte Brontë writing forty years later has the same tale to tell. Indeed, not till the nineteenth century was running to its close can the position of private governess, at least in middle-class families, be said to have permanently improved. Certainly the scale of remuneration proposed by Miss Edgeworth seems almost as unattainable now as it was in her own day.

The Education of a Girl.

The Practical Education has little to tell of the distinctively feminine side of education. Except for the omission of the learned languages, the "literary education" of a girl is, consistently with Mr. Edgeworth's own practice, to be precisely similar to that of her brother. Not so, however, with "the education of the heart." and it is on this point that Miss Edgeworth shows that she cannot altogether break away from the traditions of her generation. Her views are, with little modification, those of Dr. Gregory, whose Father's Legacy to his Daughters—a mild feminine edition of Chesterfield's Letters to his Son had aroused the anger of Mary Wollstonecraft. Modesty, timidity, demureness are with him, as with Miss Edgeworth, ideal virtues in a woman. "Girls should be discouraged from hazarding opinions in general conversation," writes the latter, "but amongst their friends they should be excited to reason with accuracy and with temper," and so "support the cause of reason with all the

¹ Jane Austen, Emma, 1816.

² In Jane Eyre and Villette.

graces of female gentleness." They must learn to bear slight reproofs, to trust to the experience of others, to practice prudence and caution. It is an ideal of womanhood that has vanished with the Victorian era.

On some points Miss Edgeworth's strong good sense asserts itself. The girl should learn economy and order: she should have the management of money, keep the family accounts, learn the price of all necessaries and all luxuries. She protests against the excessive sensibility which was in Dr. Gregory's eyes the crowning glory of a woman. "When a girl ceases to blush," he had written, "she has lost the most powerful charm of beauty." Miss Edgeworth hopes to develop the reasoning powers, and "at the same time repress the enthusiasm of fine feeling." She condemns the novels of the day which encourage sentimental tastes and take away appetite for all other "Pink appears pale to the eye that is used to scarlet, and common food is insipid to the taste which has been vitiated by the high seasonings of art." The need for such stimulus vanishes where "tastes for science and literature" are acquired.

Such are Miss Edgeworth's views on the education of a girl—views which, (with slight exceptions), are liberal enough on the assumption that there is no wider sphere for a woman's activities than the home and no career open to her but that of literature.

The curious mingling of the old ideal with the new to which we have already referred, and which may be summed up in the following passage, was equally apparent in the facts of her own life:—The imagination of the young lady "must not be raised above the taste for necessary occupations, or the numerous small but not trifling pleasures of domestic life: her mind must be enlarged, yet the delicacy of her manners must be preserved: her knowledge must be

various, and her powers of reasoning unawed by authority; yet she must habitually feel that nice sense of propriety, which is at once the guard and the charm of every feminine virtue." ¹

¹ Miss Edgeworth combined with her learning and her literary tastes a love of fine needlework. She seems to have been expert also in other domestic arts.

CHAPTER IX.

"PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION."

Scope of the Book.

Professional Education, published in 1808, is a companion volume to Practical Education, but from the pen of Mr. Edgeworth alone. The book, besides being a typical protest against a purely classical education, is in itself of a somewhat unique sort. For while an abundance of books and pamphlets purporting to give guidance on the preparation needed for any given profession or business career were already in existence, in this volume Mr. Edgeworth attempts to outline a scheme of education for each of the professions in turn. Thus there are Chapters "On the Clerical Profession," "On the Naval and Military Profession," "On the Medical Profession," "On the Education of a Country Gentleman," "On the Profession of Law," "On the Education of a Statesman," "On the Education of a Prince." It is to be expected that such a variety of subjects, requiring for adequate treatment expert knowledge of each, can be dealt with only very generally by a single individual and within the

¹ He uses the word "profession" in a very wide sense, and therefore so far covers the ground of the old Conrtesy Books. The books and pamphlets to which we allude were such as these: An Essay on the Proper Method for forming the Man of Business, 1722; A Plan of Education for a Young Prince, by the Chevalier Ramsay. 1732; Gregory, On the Duties of a Physician, etc.

limits of a single volume. The book could hardly have been written at all, had it not been for Mr. Edgeworth's novel views as to the time when vocational training should commence. The boy, he says, cannot begin too soon to prepare for his future life-work: he must start even in his cradle, and the choice of a profession must therefore necessarily lie in the hands of his parents. This startling conclusion is the logical outcome of Mr. Edgeworth's views on the subject of natural endowment, or as he frequently expresses it "original genius."

What is Genius?

The question "What is genius?" seems frequently to have agitated eighteenth century minds, doubtless in consequence of the almost universal acceptance of Locke's denial of the existence of innate ideas. Trivial as it may seem when stated in such a form, the problem had in its widest aspect sufficient importance, involving as it did consideration not so much of cases of phenomenal ability, as the whole question of natural endowment, and with it the scope and possibilities of education. At an earlier period in his life Mr. Edgeworth's belief in the power of education had been almost as limitless as that of his contemporary, Robert Owen, who claimed that by education "any character from the best to the worst, from the most ignorant to the most enlightened may be given to any community" or to any individual. With this went a complete denial of the existence of differences of natural endowment. By 1808 Mr. Edgeworth's views have so far changed and he is no longer ready to declare that all are born with equal talents. There are differences he allows in the acuteness of the sense-organs, in the powers of at-

¹ Robert Owen, A New View of Society, 1813.

tention, of memory and imagination in individuals, as well as in their physical fitness or unfitness for life. Still these original differences are but slight in comparison with "the superiority or inferiority which appears between the capacity of one individual and another after education is completed." He agrees with Johnson that "the true genius is a mind of large general powers, accidentally determined to some particular direction." Instances of outstanding genius are rare, and doubtless to be explained as Locke, Newton and Reynolds had explained it in their own case, as the result merely of superior habits of attention and application.

It is needless to quote further. The argument against the existence of genius is never clearly stated, and is vitiated by Mr. Edgeworth's evident bias in favour of the conclusion, that original endowment in one particular direction is a factor so slight as to be almost negligible, and that therefore the parent is at liberty to choose his son's profession for him long before the latter is of an age to justify the choice. This is no act of parental despotism, for it is the principal business of education to bring the will under the control of reason, and why not in the choice of a profession as in all other cases:

It is easy to agree with Mr. Edgeworth that to allow the child to choose his future profession at an early age would be but to relegate the choice to caprice—that at eight years old he cannot be a competent judge of what his tastes are likely to be on reaching manhood. The fallacy

¹ Professional Education, second edition, 1812, from which all quotations are made.

² Johnson more than once expressed his views on the subject. "I do not deny, Sir, but there is some original difference in minds; but it is nothing in comparison of what is formed by education." (Boswell's *Life of Dr. Johnson.*)

lies in attempting to settle the future vocation before reason has become a law to the pupil himself, and in identifying the will of the parent, which may be influenced merely by motives of utility, with its dictates. Only in exceptional cases will Mr. Edgeworth allow the parental fiat to be reversed: he will not have it exercised at all unless parents are prepared to devote more than common care to the education of 'heir children. "It is one of the peculiar advantages of private and domestic education,' he writes, "that the parent or preceptor, continually intent upon the pupil, can take advantage of circumstances as they arise, to make any impression that he desires."

We have, then, in the Professional Education an attempt to outline a specialistic education beginning in infancy. How is it to be given: Mr. Edgeworth denies that he intends early education to be "exclusively adapted to peculiar professions." His sketch of a course of "Preparatory Education" at the beginning of the volume is sufficient evidence against the suggestion. Yet the specialist taint is evident from the very first. The articulation of the child destined for the bar must be watched from the moment when he first begins to articulate; the boy who is to enter the Church must early be given "a devotional taste": the doctor-to-be must have his senses especially carefully cultivated from infancy; the inculcation of courage in the future naval or military man must owe not a little to his nurse! Doubtless the aim in these earlier years was to bias in favour of the profession chosen rather than to prepare directly for it. Yet a definite cleavage was to be made even before the age for entering the Preparatory School, sufficient at least to determine whether the education was to be a public or wholly a private one. A private education is to be preferred for the clergyman, possibly also for the lawyer; education at

the public school for the soldier, sailor, doctor, statesman and country gentleman.

The Education of the Clergyman.

The utilitarian character of the training to be given may be illustrated in three cases—that of the clerical, the medical, and the naval and military professions. Private education is chosen for the clergyman in order that a more definitely religious foundation may be laid from the first than is possible in the public school. Yet the necessary "prepossession" in favour of the profession is not to be acquired by continual reading of the Bible. Rather is it to be attained by observation of natural beauty, and by the appeal made to the boy by simple hymns and good Church music. Even the deference which ought constantly to be shown to the clergy in the boy's presence is to play its part. Moral training on the usual lines is all-important, and of the virtues, economy and charity are to be especially cultivated. Every sign of fruit borne by such training is to be cherished by "praise, affection, sympathy and esteem." While a pertinacious temper may be fostered in the young aspirant to the bar, the "boy destined for the Church should never be encouraged to argue for victory." As to special studies—a knowledge of English literature is essential, together with some Hebrew grammar: the more professional training is to be reserved for the University.

Of the Naval and Military Man.

The early education of the boy preparing for a military or naval career is to be of a Spartan kind. "Let his head be accustomed to the sun, his feet to the snow. Let him be habituated to variety of clothing. Let his hours of sleeping and waking be frequently varied. Give him the

useful power of sleeping in the day-time, whenever he is tired, and of wakening to the full use of his faculties at the first summons. His meals should be at irregular hours and should be quickly despatched." Exercise of every sort and manual labour are to have an outstanding place in the curriculum-drawing, carpentry, the digging of miniature fortifications. "Modern" subjects are to take the place of the exclusively classical study of the public schools—science, mathematics, geography, history, modern languages and literature—the last-mentioned apparently only in so far as it will stimulate military ardour. It should take the form of anecdotes of courage and fortitude, tales of adventure, ballads, and Shakespeare's historical plays. Only essential points in morals are to be emphasised. Prudence is to give place to enthusiasm: and neither in the moral nor in the religious training is strictness which might cause future embarrassment to be demanded. Such an education, after eight or ten years of home training, is to be the task of the public school, then of the military or naval academy.

Of the Physician.

In no case is technical education to commence earlier than in that of the medical profession. During a careful sense-training in early childhood, the pupil is to become acquainted with some of the substances of materia medica, and is to learn their Latin and Greek names. Later, when elementary science is to be studied by simple experiment, he is to learn something of anatomy, not by practising on human remains, but during the process of carving flesh or fowl at the dinner table.\(^1\) Plants, their uses and properties,

¹ Mr. Edgeworth refers in this connection to Pestalozzi, whom he met in Paris in 1803, as recommending the teaching of anatomy to children of tive or six years of age!

are to be studied in a garden cared for by the pupil himself. Chemistry is to be approached in the incidental and conversational way indicated in the *Practical Education*: so too mechanics and optics. Thus by dint of pushing elementary scientific study into the first nine or ten years of life, there is little danger of the pupil's mind becoming unsettled, or of his desiring to veer away from a medical career to scientific work.

At the public school classical studies are to be pursued, and science relegated to the vacations. In the moral sphere habits of accuracy are of importance; so too, curiously, the suppression of the "instinct of credulity."

Criticism of the Book.

The main thesis on which the Professional Education is based—that of the complete passivity of the boy in the choice of his profession, with all that it involves of dogmatism on the part of the parent, is too foreign to modern ideas to need refutation. That even in Mr. Edgeworth's day it was by no means universally subscribed to is evident enough from the criticism the book seems to have called forth. That of the Quarterly is sufficiently representative of the criticism evoked in the present day reader, to justify quetation. "The absence of a plan of general cultivation" is strongly deprecated. It is also rightly objected that such a scheme as that outlined could not with any justice be considered as supplying a liberal education—that, it would "make pleading and prescribing and other machines" instead of "well-educated men"—that "the useful is the divinity of Mr. Edgeworth's mind," and so on.1 But perhaps the most serious defect of the book is the mechanical conception of education which it seems to imply, involving

¹ The Quarterly Review, Oct. 1811.

as it does a complete disregard of the personality of the pupil.

It is however doubtful whether Mr. Edgeworth ever really contemplated the carrying out of his own proposals in their extreme form. Some liberty of choice on the part of the pupil we must assume, since he mentions that, in the case of his own large family, the sons were sent to the different Universities at the age of sixteen or seventeen, "free to choose their respective professions." They, however, "returned, determined to pursue those for which they had been originally designed."

The minor argument of the book, viz., that boys preparing for other than the learned professions should have a "modern" as opposed to a classical education, would find support even more generally to-day than it did a century ago.¹

[!] The Quarterly condemned the book on this account also. The Edinburgh defended it.

CONCLUSION.

Spread of "Practical Education" Doctrines.

Our aim in the preceding Sketch has been to show that the Edgeworths, while belonging essentially to the eighteenth century, went out and beyond the thought of their time, and that there were in their educational doctrine seeds of progress, which only developed and came to fruition at a much later period. Yet their name has been little associated with modern educational developments, and that for obvious reasons. They had addressed themselves primarily to a small circle of readers—those of the leisured classes alone—and response to their appeal was only possible where money and easy circumstances permitted of it. They had advocated private as opposed to public education. They had concerned themselves with the development of the individual for himself alone, and with little or no reference to his function as a member of society. It is, therefore, vain to look for a survival of their educational ideals in their most characteristic form in any widespread or clearly-marked movement; rather is evidence of it to be discerned in the long-continued popularity of the Practical Education as a text-book and of Miss Edgeworth's Tales for children.

Yet, while the principles laid down in the *Practical Education* were primarily intended to give guidance in the upbringing of a limited number of somewhat favoured individuals, they were recognised by some to be capable of

a wider application, and that in cases where private education as an ideal had been abandoned. Thus the school of Thomas Wright Hill and his sons at Hazelwood, Birmingham, is said to have owed much to the Practical Education. The aim of its founders, as defined by Rowland Hill, who hinself acknowledged the influence of Miss Edgeworth's books on his own personality, in itself suggests it-"to establish a school for the upper and middle classes, wherein the science and practice of education might be improved to such a degree as to show that it is now in its infancy." In addition, the insistence on curtailment of lesson hours and ample play-time, the attractive methods of teaching, the recognition of the principle of utility as providing the strongest incentive to the acquisition of knowledge, the importance attached to moral education are familiar features of "practical education." Even the system of self-government, for which the school became famous, and which was its most important legacy to the English public school, though seemingly opposed to Mr. Edgeworth's theory that the society of children does not accurately reproduce human society in miniature, was yet a legitimate outcome of that cultivation of self-dependence in the pupil, which he was never wearied of urging.1

But the Edgeworths, in spite of their conservative sympathies, were by no means cut off from the main stream of educational progress in the nineteenth century. In later life Mr. Edgeworth had, as we have seen, himself taken an active part in forwarding the movement for the betterment of popular education in Ireland. Whilst tak-

¹ On this subject ride Munree, Cyclopedia of Education, Art. ¹ Thomas Wright Hill, '' by M. E. Sadler. Also The Edinburgh Review, 1825, for a good account of the school and a review of Plans for the Government and Liberal Instruction of Boys in large Numbers drawn from Experience, by Matt. Davenport Hill,

ing steps to found a model school at Edgeworthstown, he had also interested himself in the work done by Bell and Lancaster and in that of Robert Owen, the founder of Infant Schools, with whose educational views he must have felt a greater affinity.¹

Pestalozzian Influences.

In addition, ideas such as Mr. Edgeworth had endeavoured to popularise were, almost within the limits of his own lifetime, entering England from another quarter, and that in a form calculated in the end to affect popular education more intimately and lastingly than his had ever done. The years immediately following his death saw the rise of a Pestalozzian literature in English, which, though small and of little but historical importance at the present day, is evidence of a considerable degree of interest in what Pestalozzi had to teach.² True such interest was limited at this period to but a few aspects of his theory—the part to be played by the mother in the education of her child—the methods of teaching arithmetic and

Owen quotes Mr. Edgeworth as saying of himself (Robert Owen), "I have read that man's works, and he has been in my brains and stolen all my ideas" (Life of Robert Owen, written by himself). Miss Edgeworth's stories, probably the Early Lessons, were used as Readers in the upper classes of the New Lanark School.

² To this earliest Pestalozzian literature belong: A Sketch of Pestalozzi's Intuitive System of Calculations; The Relations and Descriptions of Forms, according to the Principles of Pestalozzi, 1817; The Mother's Book, exemplifying Pestalozzi's plan of awakening the Understanding of Children, by P. H. Pullen, 1820; Pestalozzi's intellectual and intuitive Arithmetic, 1821; Hints to Mothers on the Cultivation of the Minds of their Children, in the spirit of Pestalozzi's Method, 1823; A Comparative View of the Systems of Pestalozzi and Lancaster, 1825; and Letters on Early Education addressed to J. P. Greaves, 1827, by Pestalozzi himself.

geography—the use of the object lesson. But the teaching of the English pedagogue must have been recognised as having much in common with that of his Swiss contemporary, both then and when the latter was restated, as it was at a much later date, in its fullest form. In their recognition of the importance of sound early training, in their insistence on the study of the nature of the child, in the emphasis laid by them on the distinction between education and instruction, in advocating an extended curriculum and better methods of instruction—the two men, both of whom owned allegiance to Rousseau, were at one

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INDEX.

The figures refer to pages.

A ESTRACTION, 44-45
Accomplishments, 96-98
Adele et Theodore, 16, 65, 88
Anicles Enfans, 68, 78, 79
Arithmetic, 28, 31, 32, 52-53
Astell, Mary, 89
Attention, 42-44
Austen, Jane, 99

DARBAULD, Mrs., 3, 5 56, 92 Bell and Laneaster, 113 Berquin, 68, 78, 79 Blue-stocking Clubs, 90 Boarding schools, 93, 96 Bronte, Charlotte, 100

CAMPAN, MADAME, 16, 30

Carter, Elizabeth, 90, 91
Chapone, Mrs., 90, 92, 93
Chemistry, 28, 54, 55, 96
Chronology, 55-56
Classical v modern education, 103, 110
Clerical education, 103, 107
Conversations on Chemistry, 85
Conversations on Natural Philosophy, 85

DARWIN, CHARLES, 5 Darwin, Erasmus, 4, 11, 61, 63 (n.), 91 Day, Thomas, 11, 12, 20, 21 (n.), 63, 79, 88, 94 Defor, 89

Discipline, eighteenth century, 50.61

Discipline of natural consequences, 25, 65, 67

E 187, Y. LESSONS, 9, 16, 32, 62, 66, 7, 69, 72, 76, 77, 79

Edgeworthstown, school at, 18, 113

Education: aim, 36, 58-59, early, 36-40; elementary, 17, 113; an experimental science,

4-5, 28, 35; moral, 60-75

Emile, 6, 11, 20, 65, 79

Emma, 99-100 Enquirer, 5, 29

Essay on a Liberal Education, 4, 91

Essays on Practical Education, 35-75 et passim

Evenings at Home, 32 Eyes and No-Eyes, 32

1.5

Faculties, TRAINING
of, 41-49
Father's Legacy to his Daughters,
4, 100
French, 96, 97

Freebel, 36, 38

ARDENING, 39, 108-9
Gaultier, 40
General terms, 49
Genius: what it is, 9, 54, 104105
de Genlis, Madame, 16, 17, 65,
77, 88
Geography, 28, 55
Geometry, 53-54
Godwin, William, 2 (n.), 4, 5, 29
Goldsmith, 3, 4, 10
Governess, a defence of, 98-100
Grammar, English, 28, 51
Grammar, Latin, 51-52
Gregory, 4, 92, 100, 101

H ABIT, CONTEMPT FOR, 24
Habit, Moral, 69-70
Hardening, 62-63
Hill, T. W., 112
"Household system" of education, 14-15

MAGINATION, TRAINING of, 46-47 Incidental instruction, 13-14, 31-33, 40 Individualism, 23, 24, 70 Invention, 45-46

JOHNSON, SAMUEL, 64, 105 Judgment, 47-48 K NOX, V., 4, 91

Language training,

Letters for Literary Ladies, 16, 26, 57, 88 et seq.

Letters on the Improvement of the Mind, 92-93

Life of Charlotte Bronte, 63, 64

Literature, 47, 56-57

Little Female Avademy, 64 (n.). 90

Little Goody Two-Shoes, 2 Locke, 8, 24-25, 30 (n.), 42, 62, 67

M AKIN, Mrs., 89
Marcet, Mrs., 85
Medical education, 106, 108-9
Memory, training of, 45-46
Military education, 106, 107-108
Mill, John Stuart, 84
Modelling, 39
Montagu, Lady Mary Wortley, 89
Montagu, Mrs., 90, 92
Montessori, 38
Moral instruction, 73-75
Moral Tales, 16, 76-87

NAVAL EDUCATION, 106, 107-108 Newbury, 2, 3 Nursery training, 68-69

More, Hannah, 3, 90

OWEN, ROBERT, 104, 113

PARENT'S ASSISTANT, 13, 16, 80-85 Pestalozzi, 17, 18, 113-114 Philanthropinists, 5 Pictures, 39 Play, education in, 40 Poetry Explained, 56 Political Economy, 98 Popular Tales, 16, 85 Practical education, characteristics of, 27-34 Preyer, 5 Priestley, Joseph, 4, 56 Private v. public school education, 29-30, 106-7

Professional Education, 25, 26, 59, 103-110 READING, 49-50

Readings in Poetry, 56, 57, 97 Reasoning, 47-48 Records, educational, 5, 15, 27-28 Reid, 27, 42 Religious training, 33-34 Revolutionary ideas, influence of on education, 5-5, 64 Rewards and punishments. 67-69 Rousseau, 5, 11, 16, 21, 22, 23-4. 47, 49, 62, 63, 65, 67, 69, 93, 111 Ruskin, 39 (n.), 81

Seience, elementary, 54-55, 96 Seience, elementary, 54-55, 96 Scott, Sir W., 18 (n.), 81 Sense-training, 36-39, 42, 47-48 Sherwood, Mrs., 3, 64 (n.), 73 Social virtues, 70-71 Specialists, 98 Spelling, 50-51 Spencer, 59 Stewart, Dugald, 4, 42, 46 (n.)

TALES, MORAL, 76-87
Tales of the Castle, 77
Taste, cultivation of, 46-47
Thackeray Ritchie, Anne, 80, 84
Theorem of Education, 77
Thoughts on the Education of Daughters, 96
Tomay Trip, 2
Toys, 37-40, 86

U NDERSTANDING, EDUcation of, 41-59 Utilitarianism, 71-73, 107, 109

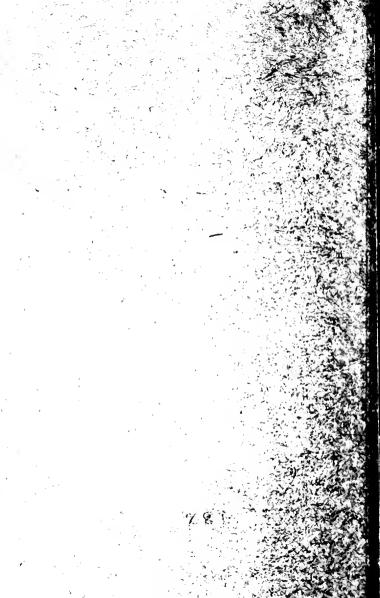
VINDICATION OF THE Rights of Women, 93 Visible World Displayed, 52

W OLLSTON ECRAFT, Mary, 93,96, 100 Women, education of, 88-102 Writing, 49

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